SUPPLY REED AND HIS FOUR MORMON CHILDREN

ABSTRACT

A brief history of his British ancestors, his own life, and the lives of four of his thirteen children among the early Mormons.

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Spring City, Utah May 2021

PREFACE

After writing the family story of my mother's grandparents, Alvin and Mary Sophia Crockett, with whom Delia spent her last years,[1] I have felt a little guilty for slighting my 3rd great grandmother who has the wonderful name of Delia Deliverance Byam Reed Curtis. I was nearing the end of that project when Delia entered the story, and I was simply too tired to sort out her complicated life, which contains a pandora's box of husbands and stepchildren, so she only got a paragraph beginning with this: "Another book like this one could be written on Sophia's family, so it is with regret that I can only give this brief sketch." I can do better.

Warming up to the idea of writing another book, I realized that my slight to her husband, Tillison Reed, was even greater—he did not even get a paragraph. I turned to his personal page in Family Search to learn more and found that 66 of the 73 memories attached to him had been mis-filed, belonging instead to Delia's second (or possibly third, as I'll discuss in this book) husband, Nahum Curtis, another injustice to Tillison, and one I could possibly rectify. I can do much better.

Unfortunately, I have not been able to find many additional primary sources for either of them, but much can be learned from the context of American and Latter-day Saint history and the stories of their family and contemporaries, spiced with a little theorizing and some logical deductions. I was surprised to learn that three of Tillison's siblings had associated with Mormons, evidently discovering the Church independently and at different times, and I believe that combining their stories adds another dimension to Tillison and Delia's lives. To unify the various stories, it made sense to me to center them around their father, Supply Reed, whose own story is interesting, and that led to my discovery of two amazing books on the entire Reed family.[2] This led me to add the following introduction, which ties Tillison and his father, Supply, to their impressive line of ancestors. If you are only interested in Supply Reed and his four Mormon children, you have my permission to skip the introductory chapter—it contains no original research on my part but is an interesting Reed-oriented romp through the past millennium.

My Reed cousins, though I am acquainted with few of them, are many. To date there have been 60 contributors to Tillison's page in Family Search and he has 33 current followers, who monitor any changes. I will make few changes to Family Search myself except to post this book among his memories, hoping that others who are interested in the Reed family will read this little book with charity, for there are many gaps and some challenges to family stories and a few theories of my own, which I will try to clearly identify as speculation. Hopefully, some are on target.

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[1] Kim Bateman, Letters of Books and Slates (if you are reading the electronic version of this book, apply control + click to follow hyperlinks, otherwise go to https://dingleream s.org/ for this reference.)

[2] Jacob Whittemore Reed, *History of the Reed family in Europe and America*, Oxford University, 1861 and W. H. Reed, M.D., *History and Genealogy of the Reed Family*, The Norristown Press, Norristown, PA, 1929.

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INTRODUCTION—THE REDES, READES, AND REEDS IN SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND

Around AD 650 the chieftain Cairbre Reada, an invader from ancient Erin, now Ireland, founded the clan of Rede and established the kingdom of Dalriada on the western coast of Scotland. There reigned a succession of chieftains until the ninth sovereign Reada was defeated by Kenneth, King of Scotland. Crossing the River Tweed, the traditional border between England and Scotland, and the Roman emperor Hadrian's wall, Reada founded the settlement of Redesdale in Northumberland on the branch of the River Tyne now named Rede, later called the Reed Waters by Sir Walter Scott in his novels. Spreading their clan toward the ancient port city, the Reeds owned Morpeth Castle and achieved matrimonial alliances with the semi-royal house of Ross.[3]

The first of that clan to which Supply Reed's pedigree can be plausibly attached is Ælfred Shrew de Rede, Supply's 23rd great grandfather, who was born around AD 935 at Morpeth, Northumberland well over a century before the arrival of William the Conqueror from Normandy in 1066.[4] According to the above cited historian,

> In 1068 William gave Earl Robert the earldom over Northumberland, but the landsmen attacked him in the town of Durham and slew him and nine hundred men with him. Soon afterwards Edgar Etheling came with all the Northumbrians to York; and the townsmen made a treaty with him, but King William came from the South unawares on them with a large army, and put them to flight, and slew on the spot those who could not escape; which were many hundred men; and plundered the town.

[3] Jacob Whittemore Reed, History of the Reed Family in Europe and America, John Wilson and Son Publishers, Boston, 1861.

[4] Personal disclosure: although I lack the Y chromosome of the Reeds, being related on my mother's side, Ælfred is my 29th great grandfather.

Castles were built throughout Northumbria by the Normans for defense, but from this time until the union with Scotland in 1603 Northumberland was a battleground between the Normans and the Scots, forcing the Reeds in Redesdale to deal with both powers.

The first stone castle of the Normans was built in Wales in 1070 and the Canterbury Cathedral was commenced in the same year. The Doomsday Book, intended to be a complete inventory of Britain, although it omitted still hostile Northumbria, was compiled in 1085, two years before the death of William I. Scots controlled Northumberland by marriage until 1157, and again from 1215 to 1217, taking it back in the year that King John signed the Magna Carta.

Thomas Rede I, Supply's 13th great grandfather was born in Morpeth in 1261. When he was 17 years old his wife gave birth to Thomas Rede II in Redesdale, who would be the first of the line to permanently leave Northumbria in eleven generations.

In 1296 King Edward I invaded Scotland, confiscating the oblong block of red sandstone that had been used for centuries in the coronation of the monarchs of Scotland, the Stone of Scone or Stone of Destiny often referred to in England as the Coronation Stone, and hauling it off to Westminster, where it has resided until modern times, consecrating the coronations of all subsequent English monarchs, the last to use it being Queen Elizabeth II in 1953.[5] In retaliation, William Wallace defeated the English at the Battle of Stirling Bridge, but Edward defeated Wallace in July 1298 and later executed him.

Although the Normans had initially entered Wales in 1066, they had never been able to subdue all the Welsh principalities until Edward overran the country in 1282, permanently ending Welsh independence. Wales remained the King's personal fief until 1301, when it was

[5] In 1996, in a symbolic response to dissatisfaction among Scots, the British Government decided that the stone should be kept in Scotland when not in use at coronations. On July 3, 1996, Prime Minister John Major announced to the House of Commons that seven hundred years after it had been taken, the stone would return to Scotland, where it currently resides alongside the crown jewels of Scotland in Edinburgh Castle. *Wikipedia*.

bestowed upon his son, who assumed the title Prince of Wales, which has belonged ever since to the British monarchy.

Whether seeking love, fleeing the conflict between Scotland and England, or taking advantage of Edward's conquest of Wales, around 1298 Thomas Rede II moved 292 miles southwest to Carmarthen, Wales, where he married Elizabeth de la Roche in 1299. A year later Thomas and Elizabeth had a son, Thomas Reade III, in Carmarthen.

Between 1315 and 1322 millions of people died in the Great European Famine, which was the product of a cooler and damper climate coupled with the medieval inability to dry and store grain effectively.

Checkendon Church built 13th Century

Thomas Reade III moved from Wales to Checkendon, Oxfordshire[6] near Abingdon to marry Margery Chillingham in about 1349. The Reades and their descendants lived in the Oxford area for about 150 years through the Hundred Years' War with France and the Black Death (bubonic plague) which arrived in England in 1348 and killed nearly half of the population. Oxford was the intellectual center of England, if not all of Europe during that time, already beginning its third century of existence in 1396. This was the time when Geoffrey Chaucer was writing the Canterbury Tales.

The grandson of Thomas Reade III, Edmund Reade, was Lord of the Manor of nearby Beedon and the high sheriff of Berkshire from 1439-1451. The word *sheriff* does not mean the same thing in England as it does in America, to say the least. The Merriam Webster Dictionary defines a British high sheriff as: "The highest official in a county or shire in England or Wales who represents the king or queen and who attends ceremonies and has legal duties." The word *sheriff* is a contraction of the terms *shire* and *reeve*, designating a royal official responsible for keeping the peace (a *reeve*) throughout a shire or county on behalf of the king. The term pre-dates the Norman Conquest, having its origins in the 10th century, but the office reached the height of its power under the Norman kings. While the sheriffs originally had been men of great standing at the King's court, by the 13th century the office denoted significance within the county, bestowed upon important landowners.

Edmund Reade's son William was 30 years old in 1455 when the printing press was introduced to Europe with the printing of the Gutenberg Bible, and his grandson Thomas was also around

[6] Photograph by Motacilla - own work, CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=28242832

30 in 1492 when Columbus discovered America, and when John Cabot sailed from Bristol to Newfoundland aboard the *Matthew* and discovered North America in 1497.

Thomas Reade Esq., who was Supply Reed's 6th great grandfather, was 14 years old when in 1509 Henry VIII became King and two months later married his brother's Spanish widow, Catherine of Aragon.

Anne Boleyn

In 1523 Thomas Reade married Ann Hoo, a third cousin to the future queen, Anne Boleyn. The Hoo and Boleyn families were direct descendants of Alexander, King of Scotland who reigned over the Reades in Northumberland from 1107–1124 and his queen, Sybil, granddaughter of William the Conqueror, making all of Thomas Reed's posterity direct descendants of the two great kings, and cousins to the unfortunate young queen.

In 1528 Henry VIII appealed to the Pope to annul his marriage to Catherine so that he could marry Ann Hoo's cousin Ann Boleyn. Despite the pope's refusal, Henry married Ann Boleyn January 25, 1533 and formed the Church of England the following year. Three years later Henry ordered the destruction of 560 monasteries and Catholic religious houses and executed Ann Boleyn.

Thomas Reade II, the son of Thomas Reade Esq. and Ann Hoo, purchased Barton Court and built a Tudor mansion ten miles south of Oxford, constructing Barton House in Abingdon, Berkshire using stone from the tower of the Abingdon Abbey church, which Henry VIII had torn down during the "Dissolution." The manor of Barton had been granted to the Abbey at an early date, covering a large area around Abingdon, and Barton was the home farm of the Abbey. Thomas Reed II was made High Sheriff. The Reed family lived in that house or at least owned the manor for the next 250 years.

Long Gallery, the only surviving building of Abingdon Abbey

Mary, daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, became Queen on July 19, 1553. Mary was the first woman to be crowned sole monarch of England. A devout Catholic, she was determined to halt the growth of Protestantism initiated by her father and return England to Roman Catholicism.

Thomas Reade III, who had been born in 1545, married Mary Brocket in 1568 in Abington, the daughter of John Brocket and heiress of Brocket Manor in Hertfordshire. Following his father and his great grandfather, Thomas Reade III was High Sheriff of Berkshire.

Queen Elizabeth I

Like the Reades, the Brockets were also linked to royalty, the future Queen Elizabeth I. While Mary was on the throne, Elizabeth was kept under house arrest at Hatfield House, which was part of the Brocket Manor. Elizabeth used to walk along the banks of the River Lea to visit John Brocket, Mary Brocket's father, probably plotting to raise an artillery to overthrow Queen Mary. It is said that as a young girl Mary Brocket had served as a handmaiden to the princess Elizabeth. In 1558 Elizabeth was sitting under an oak tree on the far side of the lake when a horseman galloped from London bringing the news that she was the new queen. During the first year of her rule, in recognition of their friendship Elizabeth bestowed knighthood upon Sir John Brocket.

In 1577 Sir Francis Drake, assigned by Queen Elizabeth, sailed in his flagship *Pelican*, soon renamed *Golden Hind* to circumnavigate the world. He arrived back in 1580. The English defeated the Spanish Armada at the Battle of Gravelines in 1588. Shakespeare's first play was performed in 1591. In 1598, Sir John Brocket died, and his estate was inherited by his fifth daughter Mary and her husband Sir Thomas Reade III.

After Queen Elizabeth died in 1603, James VI of Scotland was crowned James I of England, uniting the two kingdoms. James's accession united the three separate kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland for the first time under a single monarch.

Thomas Reade III died in 1604 at Brocket Hall at the age of 85.

Thomas Reade IV inherited his father's estates and purchased several others to become Lord of the Manors of Beedon, Appleford, Barton Court, Denford (Northamptonshire), Dunstew and Ipsden (Oxfordshire), and Minsden in addition to Brocket Hall. He also had a house in Oxford called "The Castle." Thomas Reade IV served as High Sheriff of Berkshire in 1606, High Sheriff of Oxfordshire in 1615, and of Hertfordshire in 1618. He was knighted at Royston on July 21, 1619.

James I of England

Jamestown Colony had been established in Virginia in 1607 and the King James Bible, a special project of the King, was published in 1611.

In 1620 the Pilgrim Fathers set sail for New England aboard the *Mayflower* to escape religious persecution in England, and a year

later the site of Woburn, Massachusetts, the future home of the Reed family in America was first explored by the Plymouth pilgrims.

James I died in 1625 and his son Charles I acceded to the throne.

If Thomas Reade IV was close to King James, he became even closer to King Charles I, which brought him right into the middle of the Civil War between the King and Parliament.

Charles I

In 1625 King Charles I asked several of the leading gentry to lend him money, a forced loan causing much resentment during his eleven-year rule without Parliament, whose dismissal was threatening a civil war. Sir Thomas Reade was the most heavily taxed of the five targeted aristocrats from Herefordshire. When called upon again for financial support eleven years later by the politically weakened King, Sir Thomas along with three others dared to resist. But despite that, Sir Thomas had the somewhat dubious honor of entertaining King Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria on three occasions. Barton Court, the historic old Abbot's palace, a Norman building whose ruins covered five acres, was apparently held by Sir Thomas on condition that he entertain Royalty whenever they required him to, leading to some calling it “the King's House in Abingdon.” This irksome duty had also befallen his father, who had once considered forfeiting the property to avoid the obligation.

The first time the Court exercised its right to claiming the Reades' hospitality was early in the reign of Charles I. On August 19, 1629, "the King and Queen came to Oxford from Barton, but making no stay there went on to Woodstock…and were met at Greenditch by the Mayor and Corporation, who presented the King with a fair gilt bowl and the Queen with a pair of rich gloves…and he then returned to Barton."

As the tensions with King Charles I increased, America was becoming an attractive destination for religious dissenters including some of Thomas Reade’s immediate family. Colonel Thomas Reed, thought to be a son[7] of Sir Thomas, arrived at the Massachusetts Bay Colony with Winthrop’s great fleet and settled in Salem in 1630.[8]

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[7] There is much disagreement among the many Reed/Reade pedigrees in *Ancestry* and *FamilySearch* as well is among historical articles on identifying children in the Reade family and even spouses in some cases, mostly due to repetition of the same names through generations. I have done my best to synthesize the best of these, but the problem will probably never be resolved.

[8] About 21,000 Puritans moved across the Atlantic by 1641. Oliver Cromwell himself attempted in 1634 to emigrate to Connecticut but was blocked by the government. The Great Migration slowed considerably after the

In July 1635 Sir Thomas Reade's 48-year-old son William Reed[9] sailed from London aboard the ship *Defence* with his wife Mabel Kendall and three children: Ralph, George, and a daughter named Justice, later called Abigail, ages five, three, and two. They lived first in Dorchester, Massachusetts where William became a member of his village church on or before August 23, 1636, and where Abigail was baptized December 30, 1638. Following the Dorchester baptismal entry is the notation, "Removed to Rehoboth." Later the family lived in Scituate, and in 1648 William Reade was referred to as "of Muddy River" (now Brookline), when he bought land in Woburn, which became the home of his descendants.[10]

The second Royal visit to Sir Thomas Reade IV in Barton Court is inferred from the Churchwarden's accounts of St. Helen's, Abingdon in 1638: "To the ringers when the King came to Barton 16 shillings; to the ringers upon the King's return 16 shillings."

The English Civil War began in 1642. Oliver Cromwell joined Parliament's forces, his only previous military experience having been the local militia, and he recruited a cavalry troop. King Charles lay inactive that winter in Windsor, consolidating his position in the region of Oxford, which included fortifying Reading, Wellingford, Abingdon, and other towns in a protective ring, which put Sir Thomas, who lived at Barton, right in the middle of the King's defenses.

The third Royal visit occurred on April 17, 1644 during the war. Parliamentary forces were advancing from London, and the King, fearing for the safety of Queen Henrietta Maria, brought her from Windsor to Barton on the first stage on her journey to Exeter and safety abroad in French exile, so Barton Manor and Sir Thomas witnessed the final farewell of the ill-starred royal couple. Subsequent events showed that the revolution split the Reade family along party lines, although Sir Thomas may have been only a tepid supporter of the King.

Henrietta Maria

Parliamentarians took over the government, and many returned to England after the Civil War was over. Evidently Col. Thomas Reade was one who returned, and so was Supply Reed's direct ancestor William.)

[9] William Reed or Reade is the undisputed ancestor of Supply Reed, his 3rd great grandfather. Some scholars have questioned his relationship to Sir Thomas Reade, which if incorrect, would make the story told in this introduction irrelevant. However, most genealogies accept this link, which is founded on authoritative historical texts and so will I, leaving it to you to judge for yourself. Here is the reference upon which William's parentage is chiefly founded: Mackenzie, George Norbury, and Nelson Osgood Rhoades, editors, *Colonial Families of the United States of America: in Which is Given the History, Genealogy and Armorial Bearings of Colonial Families Who Settled in the American Colonies from the Time of the Settlement of Jamestown, 13th May 1607, to the Battle of Lexington, 19th April, 1775.* 7 volumes, 1912. Reprinted, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1966, 1995. Volume VI., p. 327.

[10] History of the Town of Lexington, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, Volume II" by Charles Hudson. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913. Pgs. 557-563.

In April 1645, Cromwell and his forces were moving to confront the King's forces near Oxford, and captured Sir Thomas Reade, who had been dispatched by the King with an escort to deliver a message to Lord Northampton. Sir Thomas was taken to the rebel committee of Hertfordshire for trial, which was composed with others of the Earl of Salisbury, Sir John Reade of Brocket Hall (Sir Thomas' third son), Sir Brocket Spencer (his wife's nephew) and Sir Rowland Lytton (his wife's cousin), and so was not harmed. But his estate would not be so lucky.

Ruins of Barton Manor still standing.

Barton was destroyed by the Parliamentary forces. It is unclear whether the house was reduced to a ruin at that time, or it survived until March 1646 when Barton provided cover for an attack on Abingdon by Royalist troops. Sir Thomas' 20-year-old grandson Compton Reade defended the house with great bravery until finally it "was burnt over his head." Sir Thomas made his peace with the Parliament very soon after his capture, moving with his family to Shipton Court, Oxfordshire, and never returned.

The Civil War broke out again in 1648 when the King attempted to regain power by force of arms.

Meanwhile in the colonies, William Reade[11] bought a 50-acre farm in Woburn on July 5, 1648 from Nicholas Davis and moved there. It was said to be on the old road from Salem to Concord, not far from Kendall's mill.

On January 30, 1649 King Charles I was executed. Sir Thomas Reade died in December 1650 in Duns Tew, 30 miles north of his former manor at Barton. After his death, his wife Mary Cornwall resided at Brocket Hall.[12] Cromwell became Lord Protector of England on December 16, 1653.

At some point William Reed returned to England with his wife and four younger children. Many New England Puritans returned "home" when the Civil Wars were over and Cromwell was in power, so it was probably in 1654 or later. Since the Reeds returned with only some of their children, perhaps a permanent move was not intended, but rather an education for the children, who were in 1654 seven through seventeen years old. If so, the date of the trip was more likely around 1656, since William Reed died that year at Prestwich Lodge in Newcastle-on-Tyne. His will was dated the 9th of April, and several months later on October 31, Mabel Reed

[11] This is the last American reference I have found to William Reade with this spelling after which it was usually rendered as Reed, the spelling which I will from here on use for him and his descendants.

[12] Edited from Compton Reade's *A Record of the Redes of Barton Court* (1899).

"the relict and principal legatary of the deceased" was commissioned to administer William's estate. The will mentioned three children, George, Ralph, and Abigail, as married and living in New England, and four younger children, whose names were not given, but who are identified in Woburn records as Bethia, Sarah, Rebecca, and Israel. William left his wife £60 for herself. She would share £20 shares of a debt from William Brenton of New England with each of her four youngest children to get £5 each. To his three married children in New England, George, Ralph, and Michael, £20 between them. His estate, including debts, was worth £200. He signed with his mark, evidently illiterate, a surprise to me. He possessed an additional worth of the same amount in New England, the £400 making him one of the wealthiest men of New England at the time. His apparent illiteracy and the fact that he died in Newcastle, far from Abingdon, may be a reason that some have questioned his family relationship to Sir Thomas Reade IV.

After the settlement of William's estate, his widow returned to America with their children and married Henry Summers of Woburn, Massachusetts on November 21, 1660. After Summers died, she moved in with her oldest son George until her death in 1690 at the age of 85.

Supply Reed's ancestor was William and Mabel's son Ralph, who was five years old when his parents first arrived in America. Ralph Reed married Mary Pierce in Woburn in 1654 and therefore did not accompany his parents on their return to England. Ralph Reed's descendants had lived in Woburn four more generations before Supply Reed was born there in 1754.

CHAPTER I -- SUPPLY REED, WOBURN AND ACWORTH

Supply Reed was born September 9, 1754 to John and Judith Reed, the last of their seven children. He belonged to the sixth generation of Reeds to live in Woburn, one of the first towns after Plymouth and Cambridge to be settled in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

The choice of the name Supply is puzzling, with a sort of Puritan ring that suggests there might be a story behind it. None of his siblings had unusual names and most were named after grandparents, aunts, and uncles. No other Supply appears in either family line prior to his birth, nor for that matter any name that was not solidly British or biblical.[13]

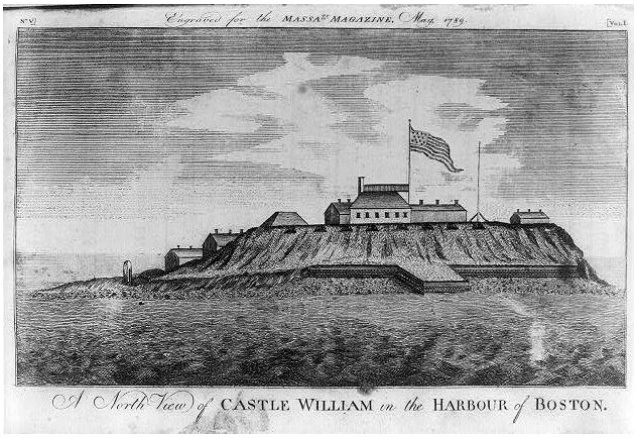
As far as I can tell, there are no more than three persons named Supply in the entire United States today, and I found the name associated with only 43 families living during the 1800s. Of those, about 85% were from New England states. Even in Supply Reed's day the name was unusual. I could find only twenty people in the 1700s in Massachusetts named Supply, and most were in just four families including the Reeds. One of them was famous enough to have his own article in Wikipedia, a man named Supply Belcher, or "Uncle Ply" to his friends and family. He was born in Stoughton, just 32 miles from Woburn, and was a contemporary of Supply Reed, only three years older. Belcher was a farmer, a tavernkeeper, and a surprisingly gifted violinist, singer, and composer, whose published carols and hymns such as "While Shepherds Watched Their Flocks by Night" can be bought online today. He was one of the so-called Yankee tunesmiths, a group of mostly self-taught composers who created sacred vocal music for local choirs. He was active first in Lexington, Massachusetts and then eventually moved to Farmington, Maine. But being a contemporary, he could not have been the source of Supply Reed's name.

That honor should probably go to the Reverend Supply Clapp, who was born in Dorchester, 20 miles south of Woburn, in 1711. The young Congregationalist minister was ordained on October 29, 1745 as the first pastor of the church in Burlington, formerly known as Woburn's second parish. Two years later Reverend Clapp married Martha Fowle, a descendant of one of the Puritan founding fathers of Woburn. John Reed's children John Jr. and Judith died while Reverend Clapp was serving as the family's minister, and he may have baptized their younger sister Martha. Supply Clapp was raised and educated during New England's "Great Awakening," the famous Jonathan Edwards' Northampton Revival, a Puritan reform movement that came out of western Massachusetts between 1734 and 1737 during which 20-40,000

[13] The name reappeared in the next two generations. Supply used it for two of his boys and it was bestowed upon two of his grandchildren.

former Puritans were re-admitted to church membership throughout New England through spiritual conversion, which qualified their children for infant baptism. John Reed and Reverend Supply Clapp were only a year apart in age and would certainly have known each other, as Woburn had only about 1,500 inhabitants at the time. The popular young minister tragically died at the age of 36 and was buried in his churchyard, where his monument still stands. This story suggests to me that the Reeds were a family of faith, but little is known of Supply Reed's personal convictions, for as we will soon learn, both of his parents died before he was old enough to develop them.

How the reverend himself received the name is also an interesting story. His great grandfather, Captain Roger Clapp came to Massachusetts Bay colony in a flotilla of colonist ships in 1630 after which he became "Gunner of the Castle" on Castle Island guarding Boston. This position was passed on to Roger Clapp's son, Captain Samuel Clapp, who grew up to be the "Gunner" himself for decades. The Clapp family were, of course, faithful Puritans. Naming his first son Samuel after himself, the faithful second gunner used classical Puritan names for his next ten children: Experience, Waitstill, Preserved, Hopestill, Wait, Thanks, Desire, Thomas (how did that slip in?), Unite, and Supply.



Supply, the youngest, seemed to have been his father's favorite. He was said to have unusual aptitude for military matters and was being groomed to be the next Gunner of the Castle. In fact, Supply was already a gunnery officer at the age of 23. Tragically, the young man, who had not yet married, was accidently shot while cleaning his musket. According to a townsman, "he had one of his eyes shot out and a piece of his skull as he was going a fowling. At his burial, several great guns were fired at the Castle."

The Reverend Supply Clapp of Woburn was the son of Lieutenant Samuel Clapp Jr., and was named in memory of his father's unlucky baby brother, who had died in 1686.

But back to our story.

At the time when young Supply Clapp accidentally shot himself, Woburn[14] had been inhabited for two generations, the first settlers having arrived in 1642. At that time William Reed, the first of the Reed family in America was serving in Scituate, Massachusetts as a constable. It would be three more years before streets were laid out among the 4-acre lots in Woburn: Upstreet, Sawpit Lane, and Military Lane—the lanes crossed Upstreet. On July 5, 1648 Supply's 3rd great grandfather William "Reade" bought a 50-acre farm in Woburn from Nicholas Davis and moved there. It was on the old road from Salem to Concord, not far from Kendall's mill. It was not until 1700 that Woburn achieved a taxed population of 178 white property owners, who increased to 305 by 1725, when Supply Read's father John Reed was a teenager.

John Reed lived in Woburn his whole life except for a stint in the French and Indian War—we don't know exactly when. Nominally, this struggle lasted from around 1753 when George Washington directed his Virginia militia forces into the Ohio Territory until its conclusion at the Treaty of Paris in 1763, but in truth, colonist militiamen were conscripted to serve in the British Army against the French and their Indian allies as early 1747 or before. But the two main forces sent from Massachusetts Bay were in 1754, when John Winslow led 800 provincial soldiers to Maine to build Fort Halifax and Fort Western on the Kennebec River in Maine, and in October of 1755, when William Johnson took 1,200 Massachusetts Bay troops through what is now Vermont to fight the Battle of Lake George near Glens Falls, New York. If John Reed was not involved earlier, he must have participated in one or both campaigns. What we do know of his service is that he attained the rank of captain and that his term ended sometime before his death in Woburn on December 21, 1755, when Supply Reed was just 15 months old. Supply was the last child in his family. John Reed died before his time at the age of 43.

Supply's parents had lost their first four children before the age of four, but two older brothers survived to grow up with him, John Jr. and David, ages four and three. His mother Judith married Lt. Jonathan Harwood in 1759, a 49-year-old widower with 15-year-old and two-year-old boys of his own. He was from Judith's nearby childhood home of Chelmsford, and the new family moved there when Supply was only four years old. Later the couple produced another

[14]Map dated 1883 available at https://www.knowol.com/information/massachusetts/woburn-ma-map-1883/.

boy named Nathaniel, who was six years younger than Supply, and a daughter named Easter, who probably died as an infant.

Chelmsford is 18 miles northwest of Woburn on the edge of the industrial town of Lowell, Massachusetts. It had been settled by people from Woburn and Concord in 1652 after the Penacook Indians had been evicted from their traditional hunting grounds. In 1645 the General Court ordered that all youths between the ages of 10 and 16 years should be instructed by competent soldiers in the exercise of arms, such as small guns, half-pikes, and bows and arrows, provided their parents were willing. And 30 out of every 100 militia men were to be ready for any service "at halfe an howers warning."[15] In 1722 the settlement was known for imposing fines to keep strangers from staying over 30 days, an act of racial, religious, and political discrimination designed to keep out witchcraft. But it wasn't enough. The year that Supply's family arrived, several Chelmsford women were charged with witchcraft, and one of them, Martha Sparks, was jailed but later released through the influence of the local minister. Another of the accused was Sarah Hildreth Byam, of a family that would soon marry into the Reeds.

Sadly, Supply's mother Judith died when he was just 12, leaving him to be raised by his stepfather, whose house was filled with adolescent boys. Supply's two natural brothers, John and David, ages 16 and 14, were in the household along with his stepbrother John Harwood, age 14, and his six-year-old half-brother Nathaniel Harwood. It would be two more years before there was a female in the house when Lieutenant Harwood married Lucy Fletcher, a 58-year-old widow to be a new stepmother for the boys. Her own three children had all died before the age of 15.

It is easy to imagine that in such a mixed household of boys, life must have been chaotic. Supply was later a carpenter and builder of mills, so he was probably apprenticed around this time into the carpentry trade. He lived at the right time and place to witness firsthand the birth of America. He was not quite 13 when the first Townsend Acts were passed by Parliament, making strict and offensive revenue demands on the Colonies. Two years later the British sent two army regiments to occupy Boston, which were billeted about 30 miles from Chelmsford, and on March 5, 1770 the Boston Massacre occurred when Supply Reed was 15 years old. The Boston Tea Party happened on December 16, 1773 when he was 19. Supply and his brothers were members of the local militia and drilled regularly in anticipation of conflicts with the occupying British forces.

On October 26, 1774 the first Provincial Congress provided for the appointment of a Committee of Safety "who when they judged occasion to require, should have power to alarm, muster, and

[15] Waters, Rev. Wilson, History of Chelmsford, Courier-Citizen Co. Lowell, Mass. 1917.

cause to be assembled with the utmost expedition, such and so many of the militia as they might deem necessary." These were called "minutemen." The actual number of those who turned out on the 19th of April 1775 in response to Paul Revere's famous ride was 19,860. Only a small part of these really took part in the events at Lexington and Concord, but one who did was 20-year-old Supply Reed.

In Chelmsford at about eight oclock on April 19th, the British advance was alarmed by a mounted messenger from Billerica. The people were summoned by alarm bells, drumbeats, and signal guns. The men of the Chelmsford companies were scattered throughout the towns, from Concord on the south to the Merrimack River and Dunstable on the north. By the time that the messenger reached Chelmsford, many of the minutemen were already on their way to Concord.

Supply Reed was one of the 43 men in Colonel Moses Parker's company who caught up their arms and hastened to Lexington Common, which was fifteen miles away from Chelmsford and five miles from Woburn. At the first skirmish under the British Major Pitcairn, the "doughty minutemen" at Lexington engaged his troops. Seven redcoats were killed and ten wounded. It has been said that Concord supplied the scene of action on that memorable day, but that Chelmsford, Acton, and other towns furnished the men who did the work. There were about 450 minutemen at the north bridge including men from Chelmsford. They engaged at nearly ten oclock, just two hours after the alarm had been sounded in Chelmsford.

Sylvanus Wood, a member of Supply's company became the first prisoner of the Revolutionary War. Two of Colonel Parker's men were killed: Ashael Porter and Daniel Thompson. In total,

A view of the south part of Lexington during the battles in 1775 by artist Amos Doolittle.
GHI/Universal History Archive/Getty Images

49 Americans were killed, 39 wounded, and five went missing. The British lost 73 men killed, 174 wounded, and 26 missing, mostly taken prisoner. Several British prisoners were held at Chelmsford.

John Hancock and Samuel Adams, members of the Continental Congress, whose arrest had been one of the objectives of the British expedition, fled Lexington as the British approached, hiding in Woburn at the home of Madam Jones. While the two famous patriots were sitting at dinner another alarm was sounded and they fled to Billerica, leaving a fresh salmon meal on the table.

The Woburn and Chelmsford militias were later sent to guard Cambridge, Boston, and Roxbury. Many served at Bunker Hill, although Supply did not. Colonel Parker, Supply's commanding officer at Lexington, was wounded in that battle, captured, and died later of his wounds in British captivity on July 4, 1775. That month George Washington was named commander of the Continental Army and came from Philadelphia to take over direction of the siege of Boston. During the siege, many Bostonians were driven from town. Chelmsford harbored 106 of them in 1776.

Supply enlisted for one year on the first of January 1776 under Benjamin Pollard. Part of that duty was to work as a carpenter for General Washington. During that time, he was stationed in New York City and was part of the retreat from Long Island and eventually moved with Washington's army into New Jersey.

On July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was signed in Philadelphia. At that time, the town of Chelmsford had a population of 1,341.

The next year Supply Reed, by then 23 years old, enlisted into Colonel Jonathan Reed's (a distant cousin) regiment, which marched to reinforce the northern army of Horatio Gates at Saratoga, New York. There Supply witnessed Burgoyne's surrender. He continued in the service for two months, returning with the troops to Boston, where he was discharged. By then he was 25 years old and still single, noted by the army to be 5 feet 6 inches in height with a light complexion.

That December George Washington and his regular troops settled into the infamous cold winter camp at Valley Forge about 25 miles northwest of Philadelphia.

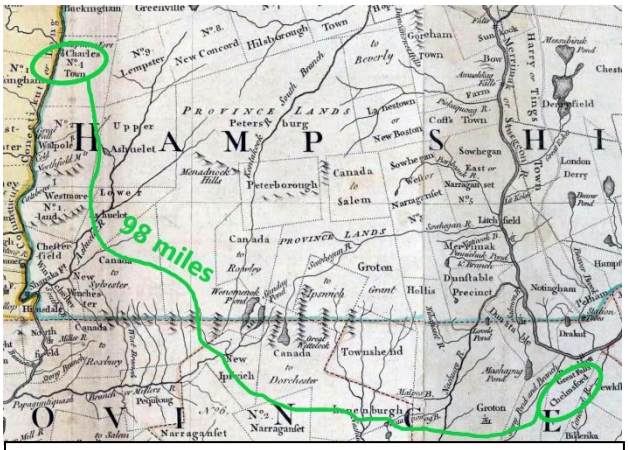
During the next two years, Supply Reed was in Chelmsford plying his trade as a carpenter and possibly courting a wife. In January 1780 he signed up for another military term of six months, returning July 11, 1780. It seems unlikely that he experienced any significant action during that time. Much later, when Supply was 77 years old, he appeared before a judge in New

Hampshire to qualify for the war benefits act of Congress on June 7, 1832.[16] Much of the original document is illegible, so the transcription contains many blanks, but it appears that in addition to his written military record, he claimed to have been conscripted in 1780 for a march to West Point, New York, where he stayed for a short time and then marched to Kings Ferry and into the state of New Jersey before being discharged January 9, 1781, although he could provide no documentary evidence to support it. His older brothers John and David also served in the war.

The war dragged on. In June 1781, severe resolutions against local Tories were passed at a town meeting in Woburn forbidding their return to the town (or to the state). This bitterness continued for years after the war ended, although many Tories returned, resettled, and blended in, becoming good citizens.[17]

With war still two years from ending, Supply Reed married Susannah Byam on June 7, 1781. Susannah's father, John Byam, was a fourth-generation resident of Chelmsford who served as the town's constable and as a "fence viewer."[18] The family of Susannah's mother, Sarah Blanchard, was from nearby Dunstable. Susannah was the second of 12 children, but the first to marry. Her next younger brother, John Byam Jr., had signed up as a 15-year-old drummer boy and served two stints in the war. After the war was over, John Byam Jr. married Sarah Haywood. Their daughter, Delia Deliverance Byam, would grow up to marry Supply and Sarah Byam Reed's son, Tillison Reed, a union of first cousins.

Soon after their marriage, Supply and Susannah moved to Acworth, New Hampshire, just eight miles from the village of Charleston and the old Fort Number 4. I don't know for certain why the Reeds were attracted to that area and at that time. The war with England was still going on, although no longer in New England—it had mostly moved to the southern colonies. It is possible that Supply passed through the Acworth area in 1777 on his march to support the northern army of Horatio Gates at Saratoga, New York.



Chelmsford to Fort No. 4 (1776 map)

[16] https://www.familysearch.org/tree/person/memories/93BN-CGX.

[17] Woburn, An Historical and Descriptive Sketch, Board of Trade, 1885.

[18] A fence viewer was an important town official who was charged with supervising and adjudicating borders between property owners.

If so, he may have visited Fort Number 4 and learned the virtues of Cheshire County. Perhaps the land was given as a war bounty for his service.

The official charter of Acworth had been issued on December 28, 1752, a couple of years before Supply was even born. At that time, Acworth was not safe from Indians, so no one occupied or farmed it, but the few residents lived in the fort a few miles to the east on the Connecticut River. The fort, which was originally known as Plantation Number 4, was the northwesternmost village within the British Colonies from 1735 until 1760. The General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony had established 26 land grants or "plantations" along the upper Connecticut River valley, reflecting the importance of waterways during that time when rivers served as highways. Connecticut means "long river" in native Algonquian, and the river became the primary route for trade and movement of troops during the French and Indian War. No. 4 was located where the junction of the Black and Connecticut Rivers met a heavily used overland Indian route. The original buyers of the plantation did not settle the area immediately but sold grants to families from Massachusetts. The fort was at the junction of French and English claims in North America, and the nearest white settlers were at Fort Drummond, 40 miles to the south. The first inhabitants of Plantation No. 4 set up an English style town, which meant that it was not so friendly toward the Indians as the French had been, having freely traded and intermarried with the natives. The fort was built up in 1743 around the houses out of necessity after Indian raids. By the mid-1740s the town hosted a gristmill and a sawmill, which were burned down twice by Indians in the first years of the French and Indian War around 1744-48. It is possible that defending this fort had been part of Supply's father John Reed's role in the military. The fort housed a cannon, which was used as an alarm to bring the farmers in from the outlying fields whenever a threat arose.

Number 4 was originally part of Massachusetts, but in 1741 King George II settled a boundary dispute with Massachusetts by running the boundary line 50 miles south of the fort, so the Massachusetts Bay Colony withdrew its supporting troops. When additional security against the Indians was required, the inhabitants turned to the colony of New Hampshire for aid, but since the land was not then a part of that colony, the government was slow to respond, and the inhabitants were forced to abandon the fort in 1746. In January 1747 Phineas Stevens, one of the displaced settlers of No. 4, petitioned the British Governor Shirley of Massachusetts to let him return with soldiers to the fort by April, emphasizing its key location as the first line of protection of western New Hampshire and Northern Massachusetts settlements against the French. Shirley granted his request and Stevens returned just in time, for within days his company successfully repelled an attack against the fort by French soldiers and Indian warriors. His defense allowed the settlers to return. Stevens' bravery caught the attention of British officer Sir Charles Knowles who sent a sword honoring Stevens' actions. The residents of No. 4

remembered this important event and the gift by naming the town Charlestown at the time of its incorporation in 1753, in honor of Knowles. By 1754 there were 180 inhabitants.

In 1766 Acworth was regranted as a town outside of the fort. Three young men from Connecticut located there in 1767 and cleared farms. By 1772 there were fourteen houses in Acworth. The people of Acworth and the surrounding country had been cut out of the boundaries of Massachusetts and had little trade or other connections to New Hampshire. These towns were settled mostly by people from Connecticut and Massachusetts rather than from the eastern parts of New Hampshire and all of them were beyond the bounds of the original New Hampshire grant to John Mason, so they tended to relate much more closely to their neighbors on the other side of the Connecticut River, seeing themselves as Vermonters. In 1781, just months before Supply and Susannah Reed arrived, John Duncan of Acworth was chosen and admitted to the Vermont Legislature. New Hampshire responded by declaring the 36 western towns including Acworth to be in a state of rebellion and gave them 40 days to recognize the Connecticut River as the state's western boundary.

At the urging in a letter from General Washington to the governor of Vermont, on a day when the representatives from the east side of the river had not yet arrived, the legislature of Vermont relinquished its claim to areas in New Hampshire on February 22, 1782. When the eastern legislators arrived late, they were excluded, and so ended the dispute. The settlement permanently determined New Hampshire's western boundary with Vermont, and in 1791 Vermont became the nation's 14th state.

Supply's brother John Reed, who was four years older, had married Deborah Holden in Ashburnham, a town 60 miles to the west of Chelmsford on the New Hampshire border on June 7, 1780, and the two couples moved to Acworth at about the same time. John's first child was born in Acworth August 17, 1781.

The northwest corner of Acworth is only about three miles from the Connecticut River on a tributary, the Cold River. A historian of the area wrote,

> The views around Acworth are unsurpassed, in some respects, by any in the state…. From Derry Hill one can see the Green Mountains and further away on a clear day, the White Mountains from Coffin Hill, the highest point in town, which is thought to be one of the best hill towns for farming. The town grew rapidly around that year, first receiving settlers mainly from Connecticut, and later from Massachusetts. The earliest settlers brought their effects on oxcarts up the river from Connecticut or on horseback. It was in many respects more of an undertaking for a young wife to leave her parents in…Massachusetts…and follow her hardy pioneer husband into the forests of Acworth, than it is now to go to the far west (written in 1869.) While parents wept, expecting to

> see their faces no more, yet in a few years at farthest, the young couple would pay a visit to their old homes, the wife on horseback with a babe in her arms, and…while the husband walked by her side."[19]

The author went on to tell of bear and wolf attacks on the farm animals.

On February 4, 1782 Supply and Susannah Reed had their first child. Of course, they named him Supply. Their second son was born a year and a half later. He was named John after his grandfather and uncle. On October 12, 1785 they had a daughter, whom they named Susannah after her mother.

One of the older Susannah's younger sisters, Thankful Byam, had married Dean Carlton in Chelmsford that September and moved to Acworth, so Supply's children were raised with cousins on both sides of the family.

Shay's Rebellion, the farmers' revolt, broke out in Western Massachusetts in 1785, when demonstrating farmers forced courts to close, and gathering mobs became violent before the uprising was finally quelled by the state militia. The issue was overdue debts of western farmers, mostly Revolutionary War veterans, who had not been paid for service and then were forced to pay their farm debts in coin and defaulted when they had no money. Things were much better for farmers in the rich Connecticut River Valley, so the Reed family was probably not sympathetic with the uprising. The effects reached their hometowns and were centered near Ashburnham where John's wife had been raised, so it must have had a troubling effect on the Reeds. This uprising led to the Constitutional Convention and a move toward a stronger central government. The disturbance lasted until June 1787.

On August 11, 1787 Supply's third son, Tillison Reed was born in Acworth.

After my speculation on the origin of the name Supply it would seem inconsistent for me to ignore the origin of Tillison Reed's name. Unlike modern parents, who are prone to give their offspring a whimsical, popular, or totally fabricated name, the Reeds often chose a name to honor a relative or admired friend. That was the case for at least six of their children including their two sons named Parker, a surname of Byam ancestors. But Tillison was not named for a relative. And it is an unusual name. I searched the entire Family Search database for anyone with the first name of Tillison and found only 36, which included Tillison Reed himself and two

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[19] Merrill, John Leverett, *History of Acworth, with the Proceedings of the Centennial Anniversary,* p. 123. Published in Acworth, 1869)

people named after *him.* Only three lived in New England in the 18th and none lived in Massachusetts. One of the others was named Tillison Tillison.

Although it appears occasionally as a forename, Tillison is more commonly a surname also rendered as Tillson and sometimes Tillotsen. Even as a surname, Tillison is rare nowadays, appearing only in 912 individuals (and 1,235 for Tillson) in the 2010 U.S. census, most commonly in Massachusetts and New York. Its earliest use in America seems to be concentrated in Plymouth, suggesting that it may have arisen from a single Puritan family. I could not find the name at all in Woburn or Chelmsford before Tillison was born. My best guess is that Supply named his son after one of his comrades in the Continental Army. The Revolutionary War enlistment records contain 30 candidates among the 13 colonies, but only four from Massachusetts: Elishua Tilson, Joseph Tilleson, Ichabod Tilson, and possibly Nathaniel Tilden. My money is on Ichabod Tilson, who signed up as a drummer from October to December 1776 under Captain Jonathan Reed, under whom Supply Reed also served.

Less than a year later, a cousin of Tillison Reed named Moses Blaisdell was born in Stoddard, Cheshire, New Hampshire, just 17 miles southeast of Acworth. He was the son of Olive Byam, another of Susannah's sisters, and Aaron Blaisdell, who had served as a revolutionary soldier. This gathering of soldiers and relatives could be evidence that the move to Acworth was to make use of a Revolutionary War land bounty.

On June 21, 1788 New Hampshire became the ninth and deciding state to ratify the United States Constitution.

The following year Judith Reed was born to Supply and Susannah, their fifth child, named for Susannah's mother. That August seven year old Supply Reed drowned. Their next baby was a boy—so they named him Supply.

The population of Acworth doubled during the next decade, but then began to decline as people began to emigrate to newly opened land chiefly to the areas around Lake Champlain and Ashtabula County in the Western Reserve, where Kirtland, Ohio is located. After the Acworth's first grist mill (built in 1772) was carried away in a flood which drowned the owner, the aptly named Henry Coffin, a new mill was built by William Mitchell on the same site in 1790. The sixth in a series of successive new owners was Supply Reed.[20] When the replacement mill was also swept away by high water, Supply built a more substantial grist and saw-mill on the same site at a cost of about $10,000, an immense amount in that day. An observer remarked that the building was certainly creditable to the public spirit of its builder, and it was still in use at the time of the writing of the history (1869). A man named John Reed had a small gristmill

[20] Merrill, John Leverett, *History of Acworth*, Acworth, 1869, p. 135. The photo on the title page is from this book, between pages 134 and 135.

for a little while. Supply's brother John had died in 1812, so the owner was probably Supply's son named John, who was married and out of the family home around 1805. By the time of the U.S. census of August 10, 1810, John was 27 years old. Besides running the mill, he worked as a blacksmith, a useful combination. He could build and repair his milling hardware and offered horse shoeing and wagon repair while people waited for their flour.

John's wife, Rebecca Bearce, was from Connecticut, and they had two children at that time. He became one of the early emigrants from Acworth who moved around 1817 to Ashtabula County in the Western Reserve. In 1830 he and his family became early Mormon converts.

At the time of the 1810 census, which was tallied as of August 6, the rest of Supply and Susannah's children were still living at home, but not for long--five of them were of marriageable age. Judith, who was 21 at the time of the census married Nahum Benjamin on August 29, not three weeks later. They were married in Ashburnham about 58 miles south of Acworth, just over the border into Massachusetts and lived there for about fifteen years before moving to Michigan and later to Missouri after joining with the Mormons.

Twenty-three-year-old Tillison[21] was out of his parents' house before the end of the year. On December 30, 1810 he married his first cousin, Delia Deliverance Byam in Jaffrey, New Hampshire about 42 miles south of Acworth. Delia was the daughter of Tillison's mother's brother, the former drummer boy John Byam Jr., and Sarah Haywood, who had moved to Jaffrey from Chelmsford around 1795. Tillison and Delia remained in Acworth until about 1833, when like John 16 years earlier, they moved to Ohio and eventually became Mormons. I will address all the children who affiliated with the Mormons in detail in the following chapters.

Twenty-five-year-old Susannah married Silas Royce of Rockingham, Vermont within six months of that census. They moved away from Acworth to live, and after several years in Vermont, finally settled for good in Jaffrey, New Hampshire, where the Byams lived.

Supply Jr. was 19 and did not leave home immediately. At some point he took over the sawmill "just below Mr. Hilliard's" which had been built by his father. I suspect that he helped build it and took it over sometime between his marriage to Mercy Streeter in 1817 and his move to Vermont two years later. Mercy died with the birth of their seventh child in 1831 after which Supply Jr. returned to Acworth to marry Catherine Hodgman. They had seven more children including another named Supply.

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[21] On their marriage document Tillison's name is given as Tilly Reed, which suggests that is what most people called him. Since his descendants generally refer to him by his formal name, I'll stick with Tillison in this book.

Some Reed family locations around 1820
1795 map of Southern New Hampshire

By the 1820 census Supply and Susannah had only two children remaining at home: 15-year-old Parker Reed, the baby of the family, and a young girl, likely a granddaughter. All the rest of the children were out on their own. Besides the boy who had drowned, Supply and Susannah had lost three more to early death. A baby girl named Mahala lived only five days in December 1795. There had been a prior Parker in 1803, who died at the age of five months.[22] Sally died at the age of 18 in 1815. Their second Mahala married David Currier in Acworth in 1818, where they remained the rest of their lives. Lucinda was 18 and not yet married, but not living at home. I suspect that she was with relatives, perhaps with her sister Judith and Nahum Benjamin in Ashburnham, where she married Ebenezer Jones in 1822. Ebenezer died three years later, and Lucinda married Abel Cory and lived the rest of her life in Massachusetts.

Patty had married Asa Shed in July 1812. They settled in Stoddard, just 17 miles away from Acworth in the same county. Parker Reed finally moved out of the house and went to Vermont to marry Tryphena Smith in 1833.

So, from 1810 to 1820 Supply and Susannah went from having nine children at home to only one (plus the grandchild.) By 1830 only three of their 12 children (Tillison, Parker, and Mahala) were still living in Acworth, although three more were within 50 miles of their home, but in the next decade Tillison's and Parker's families both migrated west.

After Susannah died the day after Christmas 1831 at the age of 71, Supply moved in with Mahala's family. He died in Acworth on March 18, 1847 at the age of 92 having outlived all but five of his 12 children.

[22] I suspect that the name Parker was inspired by Supply's commanding officer, Captain Moses Parker of the Battle of Lexington. Another possibility is Nathaniel Parker (unrelated to Capt. Parker), great grandfather to both Supply and Susannah.

CHAPTER 2 - JOHN REED, KIRTLAND

After the drowning of Supply Reed's seven-year-old namesake son the summer of 1789, six-year-old John assumed the role of oldest child. His sister Susannah was going on four and his brother Tillison was two. The exact birth date of Judith, who was born that year, is not known. His uncle John Reed and wife lived in Acworth with a daughter John's age and two younger children, and his mother's younger sisters Thankful Byam Carlton and Olive Byam Blaisdell lived with their husbands in nearby towns, each with an infant boy.

Nothing more of John's childhood is known except that he must have learned his trades of blacksmith and miller while working for his father. While still a teenager, John left home and found his way to New Milford, Connecticut.

It is a mystery to me how he ended up 225 miles from home in a town with no obvious connection to his family. Nearly a century earlier New Milford had been established alongside a settlement of Wampanoag Indians, with whom the British Colonists had peacefully coexisted ever since Zachariah Ferriss and his brother-in-law Colonel John Read first plowed land there in 1706. I do not think that Colonel Read was one of Supply Reed's ancestors because the Colonel was not from Massachusetts. He was a lawyer from (old) Milford near New Haven Connecticut at the mouth of the Housatonic River, from which New Milford lay 36 miles upstream. For decades New Milford was more an outpost than a town, but by 1750 it contained a store, which during the revolution became a storehouse for Continental Army provisions when General McDougal camped there two months with 4,633 soldiers, which must have strained the local community of about 2,800. In 1793 the town had 11 taverns, ten merchants, nine blacksmiths, two physicians, four attorneys, and three gristmills. By 1810, about when John arrived there, it was developing an important paper industry powered by the river. Significantly, the town was also building an ambitious iron bridge in 1801. Either the papermill or the bridge project could have drawn the young blacksmith to the growing community, which the population of ten Acworths.

There he met Rebecca Bearce, and sometime between 1800 and 1805 they were married. Rebecca is said by many of her descendants to have been part Native American and raised in the Indian village at New Milford by parents living culturally as Indians, although both of their surnames are European. Her mother, Freelove Canfield, was supposedly partly Wampanoag, a descendant of Massasoit, friend of the pilgrims. Her father, Josiah Bearce III, was a Revolutionary War veteran. As the story goes, Josiah's second great grandfather was Augustine Bearce, a full-blooded gypsy who was deported for life on the ship *Confidence* from London in 1638 simply because he was of Romany blood and caught on British soil. In those days at

Plymouth no Puritan would marry a gypsy, so Augustine married an Indian girl named Mary Hyanno, a full-blooded Wampanoag princess. Augustine and Mary joined the Puritans in 1650 for protection, and he was made a freeman in 1652. Their descendants continued to bridge both cultures.[23]

John and Rebecca returned to Acworth to make their home near John's family. According to the family's stories, their first four children were stillborn. Fearing they might never be able to have children together, they adopted an infant named Thomas Henry Green in 1809 before he was a year old. As an adult, Henry said that he was born in Amenia, Dutchess County, New York to George Green from England and Mary Cummings from New York on May 15, 1808. His mother died that day.[24] [25]

Rebecca was again pregnant soon after the adoption, and this time the outcome was favorable. Their son Lee was born in Acworth on January 27, 1810 when Henry was 20 months old. Rebecca had ten more children, and all but one lived to adulthood. Caroline, Clarissa, John H., and William Willard were all born in Acworth while John worked as a blacksmith and ran a mill. Around 1818 the family traveled to New Milford to visit Rebecca's family and discuss the opportunities on the opening frontier and then moved 330 miles to Penfield, Monroe County, New York, on the shore of Lake Ontario. They lived just 16 miles from Palmyra, the home of Joseph Smith the American prophet, who was then only 13 years old and just beginning to be interested in religion.

John Reed Family locations 1800 - 1838

Penfield was a thriving mill town founded eight years earlier by Daniel Penfield, a war veteran and land developer from New York City. He built the town around

[23] I notice that there has been considerable controversy among the Bearce genealogists, so I am not certain of the veracity of this background story. Recently three descendants including a third great grandchild have reported that DNA evidence shows no evidence of native American ancestry.

[24] His mother was probably Mary Ann Cuming who was baptized in Press, Shropshire, England 5 Aug 1786.

[25] I was able to find a George Green in the 1810 U.S. census who may have been Henry's birth father. The census reported a woman and five children under ten years of age in his household, but they lived in Beekman, a nearby village in the same county as Amenia, possibly the home of George's second wife. Beekman is only 24 miles from New Milford, where John Reed had married Rebecca Bearce, which suggests that the Reeds adopted the baby before moving back to Acworth. Little Henry would have been George Green's sixth child under ten when his mother died, which makes an adoption seem quite reasonable.

Irondequoit Creek, which falls 90 feet before flowing into Lake Ontario, making it ideal for milling. In 1818 there were already many operating mills as well as an ironworks and a forge. Penfield himself operated a large flourmill called the "Yellow Mill" which exported across Lake Ontario to Canada and via Lake Erie to Ohio and to Michigan using a portage road around Niagara Falls until the Welland Canal was completed in 1829. When the Erie Canal opened in 1825, new markets opened in New England. Daniel Penfield attracted settlers by accepting grain for his mill in lieu of rent until they could get well established. The other mills included a clothing mill, sawmills, an oil and soap mill, an ashery, and a trip hammer, and Penfield had reached a population of over 2,000 people by the time the Reed family arrived. It seemed an ideal location for someone of John's training and ability. At the time, the five children ranged in age from one to eight.

Rebecca's sister Sarah Elliot and her family moved to Penfield around 1820,[26] perhaps to take over the Reeds' house and land, for Rebecca and John left there for Ohio, then known as the Western Reserve, before their sixth child was born in Richfield township, Ashtabula County on December 12, 1819. They named her Susanna after her grandmother. Little Susanna died around the age of two of scalding.

I do not know why the Reeds left Penfield so suddenly, just as Rebecca's family arrived. Perhaps it was the wild growth of the town—John had grown up in a mere a village. His new home in Richfield township, Ohio was not even a village, just a sparsely populated area of farms, but it could support a milling business.

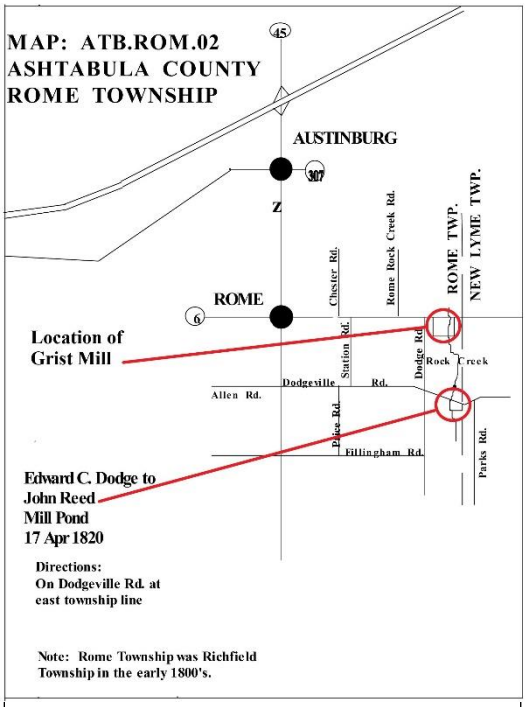
All northern Ohio along Lake Erie from the eastern border with Pennsylvania to Sandusky Bay was originally called the Connecticut Western Reserve or New Connecticut, based on Connecticut's royal charter by King Charles II in 1662 extending its area from "sea-to-sea." This eventually led to a conflict with Pennsylvania, which was resolved in 1782 under the Articles of Confederation, but Connecticut was able to reserve a 120-mile strip west of Pennsylvania in compensation, while all of Ohio to the south and west became part of the Northwest Territory, which was gained from England when America achieved independence, and included Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Native American title to the land east of the Cuyahoga River, which runs through Cleveland, was revoked by the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, making the Reserve available for sale and settlement. The State of Connecticut sold that land to the Connecticut Land Company for $1.2 million to support the Connecticut School Fund. The original settler in the reserve was Moses Cleaveland (sic) in 1796 after whom Cleveland, Ohio was named. Connecticut finally surrendered all governing authority over the Reserve to the

[26] Rebecca's parents followed them to Penfield about 1825.

U.S. Government through the "Quieting Act" in 1800, and in 1809 the Connecticut Land Company went out of business.

There followed a rush to settle northern Ohio. The first settler in Richfield Township was Elijah Crosby, who had bought 550 acres. By 1800 there were 50 families, almost all from Connecticut. The first schoolhouse was built in 1810. In 1804, Geauga County was formed, the future location of Kirtland. Edward C. Dodge, a carpenter who had arrived from Connecticut with his family and parents in October 1817 built a sawmill in Richfield Township on Rock Creek in 1818. On April 17, 1820 John Reed bought property from Dodge on Rock Creek about three miles from the present town of Rome that contained a mill pond and built the first grist mill in the township near that property.[27]

One of John's neighbors in Richfield Township living in the village of Rome was a young cabinet maker named Levi Hancock, who claimed that his father was a cousin to John Hancock, the signer of the Declaration of Independence.[28] Levi was soon to play a large role in the lives of the Reed family. Trained as a cabinet maker, he had moved to Rome in the fall of 1821 at the age of 18 to work for an Irishman named Michael Powers making spinning wheels and bedsteads. He soon bought 12 acres and a house from his older brother Alvah in New Lyme, where the Dodge family lived four miles east of Rome.



John Reed Property
(on modern map showing highways)

John and Rebecca Reed's son Joel Goss Reed was born in Rome Township in 1824.

The Erie Canal was completed on October 25, 1825, opening Michigan and Northern Ohio up to settlement.

By 1825 Levi Hancock had made enough money to pay off the mortgage on his father's farm in Chagrin, which was 15 miles south of Kirtland. He bought the farm hoping that his younger

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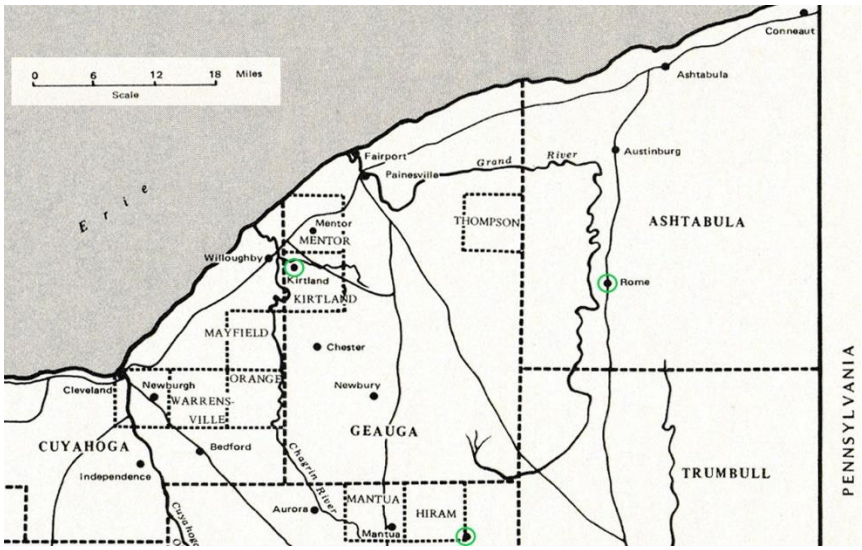
[27] Large, Moira W., *History of Ashtabula County, Ohio*. Topeka, Historical Publishing Co., 1924.

[28] That claim is a stretch. It appears that both families might have descended from Sir John Hancock of Newbold, Derbyshire, and his wife Lady Isabel Leigh, who were married 1526. That would make Levi's father a 6th cousin once removed to the famous patriot. The two families probably did not know each other. One was from Massachusetts and the other from Connecticut.

brothers would work it to support their aging parents, but as noted in his important autobiography[29] the brothers "resented it" so he sold it to his older brother Solomon and moved back to Rome and his cabinet business in 1828. By then he was 25 and still single, having girlfriends, but "none for love."

Richfield Township was renamed Rome Township on June 2, 1828.[30]

That December, Lee Reed, John's oldest natural son, who was by then 18 years old, married Nancy Babcock in Rome.[31] On August 25, 1830, John and Rebecca's 22-year-old adopted son, Henry Green, married Louisa Spooner.



Kirtland Area Towns in 1830

In the fall of 1830, Levi Hancock was on a visit to his family in Chagrin when he heard that four men from western New York state had come to town with a book telling the history of people who inhabited America before the Europeans arrived. These were Parley P. Pratt, Oliver Cowdery, Peter Whitmer, and Ziba Peterson, who were on their way to preach Mormonism to the Indians west of the Missouri River. Along their way they were holding meetings in Chagrin, Kirtland, Mentor, and Mayfield. Pratt already knew Sidney Rigdon, a local Reformed Baptist preacher, who attended with some of his followers. After Levi's first meeting with the missionaries in Chagrin, his father, his older sister Clarissa Hancock Alger, and several others were baptized. After thinking it over a day or two, Levi followed the missionaries to Kirtland, where he was baptized by Parley P. Pratt on November 16, 1830 and ordained an elder after which he returned to Rome where he began holding his own meetings. He wrote, "I

[29] http://www.boap.org/LDS/Early-Saints/LHancock.html

[30] The name Richfield was no longer used in Ashtabula County after that. It is not to be confused with the town of Richfield, which is 80 miles further west, just south of Cleveland, Ohio.

[31] That marriage ended after the birth of their sixth child in 1840. Nancy lived married again in 1844 and lived until 1892. Lee married again in 1841, but his second wife died two years later.

preached from place to place where the folks were well acquainted with me… People were astonished but didn't start persecuting...."

Although it is not mentioned in Levi's autobiography, he baptized John and Rebecca Reed at that time and possibly some of their children. Clarissa Reed was baptized March 29, 1831. John and Rebecca's unmarried children at that time were 18-year-old Caroline, 16-year-old Clarissa, 15-year-old John Jr., 13-year-old William, six-year-old Joel, three-year-old Lydia, and Laura, who was one. Levi Reed was born a year later, named after the missionary who baptized his family, and a son named Ira was born in 1834.

LDS ordinance information gives the date of John's baptism as September 12, 1830. This must be a mistake since it predates Levi's baptism. In fact, that would have been only 11 days after Pratt's own baptism in Fayette, New York. Rebecca's biographer gives the time as "sometime in 1831," but it must have been sometime between Levi's baptism in November and February 1831, when Levi left Rome for his father's farm in the Kirtland area to meet Joseph Smith, who had just arrived in Kirtland for the first time. Levi and two other young men from Rome held proselyting meetings in Mayfield and Chagrin for a few weeks. In May, the Colesville, Fayette, and Manchester branches of New York Mormons assembled in Ohio. On June 5th, the Prophet had a revelation calling the entire Colesville Branch, Sidney Rigdon, and a dozen pairs of missionaries including Levi and his companion Zebedee Coltrin to travel to Jackson County, Missouri. The sixty members of the Colesville Branch arrived at Kaw Township in Jackson County on July 26, just a few days after Joseph Smith's arrival there. Joseph Knight and his wife Polly died a few days later. Levi and Zebedee preached all along the way and did not get to Missouri until October. After crossing the Mississippi into Missouri, Levi got miserably sick and Coltrin had to go on without him—Levi caught up in November, when he used his cabinet making skills to build the church printer in Independence. In mid-January Levi and Zebedee started home to Kirtland with Parley P. Pratt, Lyman Wight, and John Murdock. Bishop Partridge had given him $10 to return home on. Levi arrived in Rome on May 1, 1832. He wrote in his autobiography of that time: "…(I) went to Rome, lived a while with John Reed, then went to Chagrin and stopped with (my brother) Solomon for a few days when the Prophet Joseph Smith sent for me." Joseph Smith was living in the home of John Johnson in Hiram, Ohio when Levi returned. Levi told the prophet about the girlfriend he had left behind when sent to Jackson County. "Joseph said not to worry, the Lord had a girl for me… 'I hope you will not marry soon. I want you to do some work for me.'" Levi made furniture for him including a fine desk.

The completion of the Ohio and Erie Canal in 1832 had two great effects on the Mormons living in the Kirtland area. One effect was on the size of the local population. In 1830 Cleveland had only 1,075 inhabitants. In 1840 there were 6,000. More valuable to the Mormons was the

improvement in travel to Missouri and back. For $5 one could book canal transportation from Cleveland to the Ohio River at Portsmouth through Akron, Canton, Columbus, and Chillicothe. The trip took 80 hours, and a steamboat could be taken from there down the Ohio, up the Mississippi to St. Louis, and via the Missouri to Independence. Passenger steamers up the Missouri were not common, but the overall trip became much quicker and easier just as the Saints were beginning to move west in larger numbers.

Rebecca Reed's biographer wrote that her daughter Clarissa worked in the Smith house as a maid. If it was while the Smith's lived in Hiram, she and Levi would have been there at the same time. Levi was 29 then and she was not quite 18. But it seems more likely to me that she began her work after September 1832 when the Smiths moved into rooms above Whitney's store in Kirtland, where they stayed until February 1834.

Newell Whitney Store

It is safe to assume that John Reed was relatively prosperous financially. He also participated in Mormon Church affairs. On January 13, 1833, a conference of High Priests assembled in Kirtland at Whitney's store at the request of Sidney Rigdon to consider the Revelation given September 22 and 23, 1832 concerning the Saints in Zion, which is now canonized in Doctrine and Covenants, Section 84.[32] The attendees included Joseph Smith Sr. and Jr., Hyrum and Samuel Smith, Orson Hyde, Zebedee Coltrin, Newel K. Whitney, John Murdock, and Fredrick G. Williams among others. The minutes also mentioned the attendance of John Reed, William Smith, and John F. Boynton, elders. The group resolved that Orson Hyde and Hyrum Smith be assigned to write an epistle informing the Saints in Zion on the subject. The prophet had designated Section 84 as the defining revelation on priesthood.

Levi wrote: "About this time Joseph called on me to go to Rome with a hired girl by the name of Clarissa Reed, who had been living with him. I went and returned with her in about two weeks." I would love to know exactly what happened during those two weeks. On March 29, 1833 Levi Hancock married Clarissa Reed and they set up a home in Kirtland. After the marriage Levi's father moved to Kirtland and lived with them.

[32] https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/minute-book-1/9

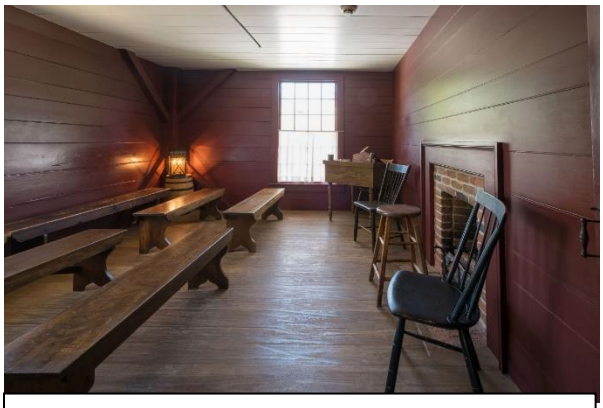
In 1896 Hancock's son Mosiah Hancock added some interesting information to Levi's story.[33] Mosiah had multiple wives at the time of his writing, which may have biased his story, as it was written after the Manifesto disavowed polygamy in the Mormon Church.

Mosiah wrote that Joseph had met with Levi prior to his trip with Clarissa Reed to Rome and proposed a deal: "Brother Joseph said, 'Brother Levi, I want to make a bargain with you—if you will get Fanny Alger for me for a wife you may have Clarissa Reed.'" It made no sense to me that Levi would be needed for such a task until I discovered that Fanny's parents were Levi's older sister Clarissa and Samuel Alger. Fanny was 15 ½ years old at that time. Mosiah wrote further that Joseph Smith had discussed plural marriage with Levi by then. He went on:

> Father goes to the Father Samuel Alger—his father's brother-in-law and (said), "Samuel the Prophet Joseph loves your daughter Fanny and wishes her for a wife, what say you(?)"—Uncle Sam says— "Go and talk to the old woman about it, twi'll be as she says." Father goes to his sister and says "Clarissy, Brother Joseph the Prophet of the most high God loves Fanny and wishes her for a wife, what say you?" Said she "Go and talk to Fanny it will be all right with me"—Father goes to Fanny and said, "Fanny, Brother Joseph the Prophet loves you and wishes you for a wife. Will you be his wife?" "I will Levi," said she. (Levi) takes Fanny to Joseph Smith.

It occurs to me that another reasonable interpretation of the deal might be that Joseph simply needed to replace Clarissa as Emma's servant girl, but respected Mormon writers have generally accepted Mosiah's view.[34]

Mosiah wrote that Clarissa loved Levi but had thought she would be one of Joseph Smith's wives, as she and Emma got along well. Mosiah's story also sheds light on the story of Emma Smith's influence on the revelation known as the Word of Wisdom, Section 89 of the Doctrine and Covenants, which was written on February 27, 1833 during this episode. He wrote that the reason for Clarissa Reed's poor health was that she had been sickened by cleaning up chewing tobacco residue at the



Restoration of School of the Prophets – Upper Room of Whitney Store

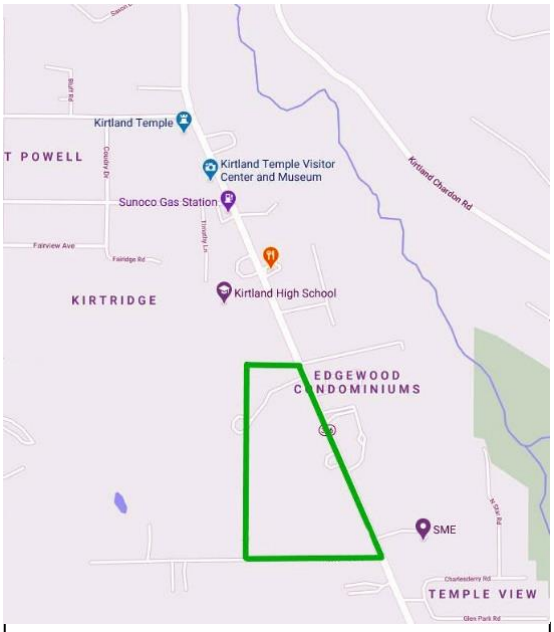
[33] https://josephsmithspolygamy.org/mosiah-hancock-an-addition-written-in-1896-to-the-autobiography-of-his-father-levi-ward-hancock/

[34] Bushman, Richard Lyman, *Joseph Smith, Rough Stone Rolling*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 2005, pp. 323-7, 437,441.

school of the prophets in the Smith home. Emma was speaking up not for herself, but for Clarissa, her maid.

On July 23, 1833, the cornerstones for the temple were laid in Kirtland.

Evidently John moved his family to Kirtland later that year. In October he received 70 acres of land on Chillicothe Road less than a half mile south of the temple in Kirtland from Asa Ayres in exchange for his 60+ acres with the sawmill just outside of Rome. A year later he bought 50 acres from Harden Cleaveland about three miles east of the first property on which the east branch of Chagrin Creek ran through the northeast corner. Although I have no direct evidence, I suspect this was to build another mill.



Approximate location of John Reed's land on modern map of Kirtland

Probably the Reeds moved to Kirtland because John was deeply involved in constructing the temple between 1833 and 1836. Family history sources claim that he did all the ironwork in the building. Having already built several mills, he had considerable carpentry skills to contribute to the project as well. In addition, he contributed $200 in cash to the temple building fund and $50 more for each of his children. One of his daughters[35] stated that John had a considerable amount of money which he kept in a chest, which he contributed to the cause of persecuted Latter-day Saints. Once when the Prophet Joseph asked for more help for the Saints, John replied that he felt he had contributed enough. According to the daughter he never prospered financially after that.

[35] The daughter was probably Lydia or Clarissa since Laura is mentioned in the quotes. I believe it was Clarissa.

Levi Hancock a few years later

Levi pledged $50 toward the temple, worked on its construction, and served as a guard there. He attended the School of the Prophets at the Whitney store. On one occasion he is said to have rescued Fanny Alger, who had been imprisoned in a room of the temple by dissenters trying to embarrass Joseph and carried her to safety in New Syme on horseback. John's daughter wrote, "Laura often played at the feet of the Prophet Joseph Smith and was held on his lap on many occasions when he was a guest of the Reed home while hiding from his enemies." This happened in the Kirtland era--Laura would have been four years old in 1833.

On April 9, 1834 Levi and Clarissa had their first child, whom they named Mosiah Lyman Reed at the suggestion of Levi's friend Lyman Wight.

At the end of that month, Hyrum Smith and Wight set out in a wagon for Michigan to recruit for Zion's Camp to support the Missouri Saints after being driven out of Jackson County, Missouri.[36] Four days later Joseph Smith and the main body set out for Missouri from Kirtland with Levi Hancock among them. In Pontiac, 15 members of the Huron, Michigan Branch volunteered including Sophronia and Lyman Curtis, Charlotte Alvord,[37] Aurelia Haughton, Elijah Fordham, and his nine-year-old son George. In total there were nine men, three women, and three children. No Mormons from Washtenaw County signed up. The group added Charles C. Rich as they passed through Pleasant Grove, Illinois and joined Joseph Smith June 9 at the Allred settlement at Salt River before stopping near Liberty, Missouri. At that camp 68 of them were struck by cholera, which killed 15. The camp disbanded on July 3rd without achieving their aim of relocating the displaced Saints. Most returned to their homes in small groups.

Most of the next generation of Church leaders were selected from the participants of Zion's Camp after their return including Levi Hancock, who on February 28, 1835 was ordained one of the first seventies.[38]

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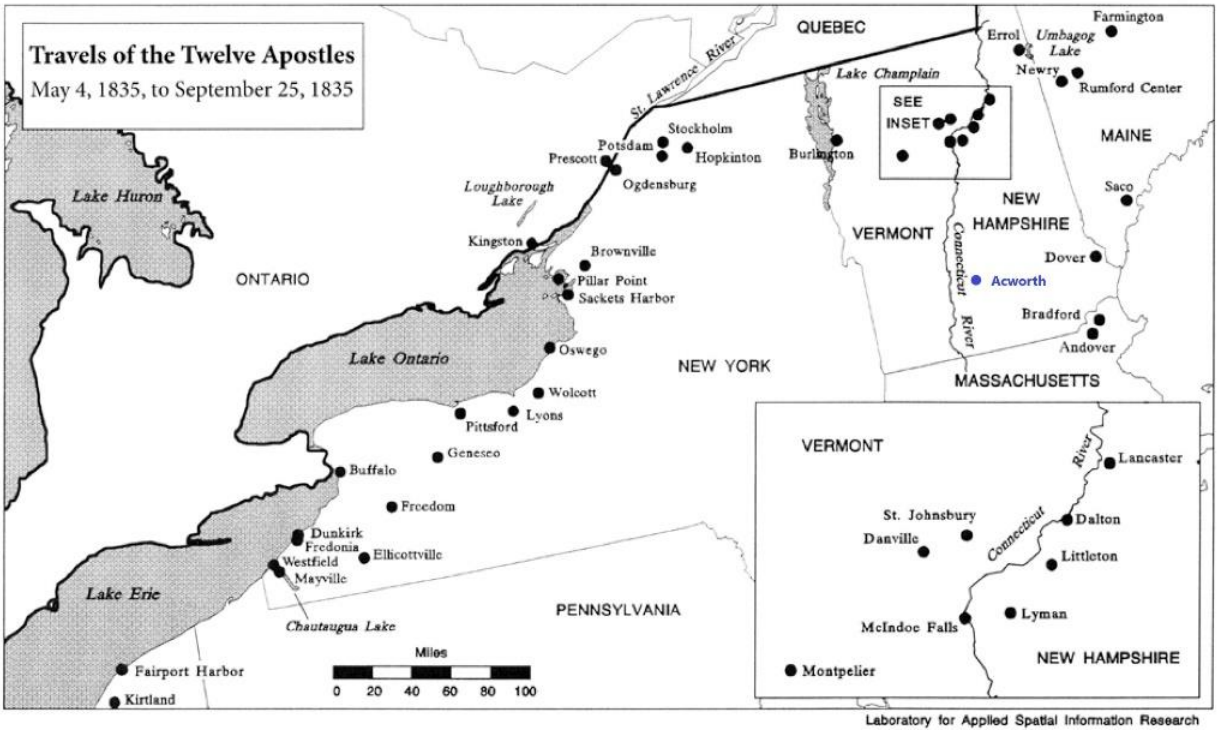
[36] Zion's Camp was a quasi-military group of about 230 men, women, and children aiming to help the Saints who had been expelled from Jackson County. It was formed in response to a revelation received by Joseph Smith that February. D&C 103:21-22, 35.

[37] Lyman, Charlotte, and Sophronia later became stepchildren to Delia Reed—see the next chapter of this book.

[38] Later Levi became the only general authority among the Mormon Battalion and became a pioneer settler of Sanpete Valley (although by then divorced from Clarissa.)

On March 7, 1835 John Reed received a special blessing for his work on the Kirtland Temple. He was 51 years old. One by one, 119 men who had worked on the temple were blessed by the presidency that day.



In the summer and fall of 1835, the Quorum of the Twelve embarked on a mission to eastern states, holding member conferences, and proselyting along the way, sometimes targeting Native American communities. The member conferences began with a general Friday session with instruction and the sacrament followed by business and fund raising. Preaching followed on Saturday, Sunday, and concluded on Monday. Preaching in the neighborhood by the apostles followed between conferences. I was interested to learn whether the apostolic missionaries could have visited John Reed's parents and siblings in Acworth, New Hampshire, but as far as I can determine, none of them traveled through that area. Only one conference was scheduled in New Hampshire at Dover, which is in the eastern part on the state, but it was cancelled. Apparently, Dover was skipped for scarcity of members. Instead, Elder John F. Boynton represented the Dover branch at a conference at Saco, Maine on August 21. (He was not from Dover, but a native of Massachusetts.[39] There were only eight church members in Dover in good fellowship. This suggests it is unlikely there was any kind of branch in Acworth, 92 miles to the west. It seems that any church activity in New Hampshire was in the north, where Amasa Lyman's family lived.

[39] Boynton was one of the Twelve but apostatized during the Kirtland financial crisis.

John Reed's adopted son Henry, who was then 27 years old, was mentioned in the minutes of the High Council (as the Quorum of the Twelve was called in those days) on September 16, 1835.[40] A complaint had been filed against him by none other than the prophet himself:

> Council sat in order and opened by prayer by the presidency. Complaint preferred by President J. Smith Jr. against Brother Henry Green, for accusing President Joseph Smith Junior of rebuking Brother Aldridge (Andrew Aldrich) wrongfully and under the influence of an evil spirit. Brother Green being absent, the presiding President, Sidney Rigdon, arose and said that it was the decision of the Presidency, that the council proceed to examine the charge preferred, because Brother Green had been regularly summoned by himself….And President Rigdon, proceeded to give his decision as follows: that Brother Green should, (if he were aggrieved with President Smith) have gone and told him of his difficulty and not have said anything about it to his neighbor….This was agreed to by all the counsellors except Counsellor Coe, whether Mr. Green should not have the privilege of confessing his faults and still be retained in the Church. He, therefore, thought it was the privilege of Brother Green, to have a reorganization of the council and a rehearing.

Although not present at the first hearing, it seems that Henry must have appeared at a rehearing and confessed his faults, for he continued to be active in the church for the rest of his life.

On March 27, 1836, the Kirtland Temple was completed. No doubt the John Reed family participated in the dedication and the miraculous events that accompanied it, although I have found no record of that. As I will explain in the next chapter, it is possible that John Reed's brother Tillison with his wife Delia and their younger children were in Kirtland by then, or possibly even a year or two before that, on their way to Missouri. John's sister Judith and her husband Nahum Benjamin also traveled to Missouri through Kirtland.

Kirtland Temple early photo

Many of the Kirtland Mormons were preparing to move to Missouri, where twice-evicted Missouri Saints seemed finally to have found a welcoming home in Caldwell County that spring.

[40] https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/minutes-16-september-1835/1

On June 27th John sold his Kirtland property three miles east of the temple to Enoch S. Sanborn and Oren Cheney, however the family kept their house and land near the temple.

On August 7th John's third natural son, William Willard Reed, age 18, married Eleanor Shaffer in Macon, Illinois. Like his father, William left his home while still a teenager. He never did go to Missouri with the rest of the Mormons.[41]

That fall Clarissa and Levi Hancock left Kirtland for Missouri, around November buying a farm in what was soon to be called Caldwell County. In March 1837 Levi and Clarissa moved a small room onto the farm and later a 16 x 16 ft log house, using the small one for a shop. They fenced four acres for corn, bought 10 acres in Far West and part of a city lot near the temple site, totaling 60 acres. They had cows, hogs, one mare, sheep, and hens.

The year 1837 was a difficult one for Kirtland, in fact for the whole country, the so-called Panic of 1837, during which the whole country suffered a recession. The trouble for the Church was a combination of financial setbacks and apostasy, especially among the leaders. The 1837 apostasy, as it is sometimes called, cost the Church about a third of its leadership, although not so high a proportion of its regular members. One notable sign of the distress is the discontinuation of good documentation of Church history—Joseph Smith's excellent journals are silent during that time, probably reflecting the pressures he was experiencing. I have no indication of the effect of these events on John Reed's family.

On January 12, 1838 Joseph Smith fled Kirtland at 10 pm under cover of darkness and made his way with his family to Far West, where they settled into a house near the temple site. The flow of Mormons from Kirtland rapidly increased. In the first seven months of that year over 1,600 people left Kirtland. By 1839 only about 100 LDS remained there.

John Reed moved his family in the month of June to Caldwell County, Missouri near Hawn's Mill.

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[41] William must have remained a Mormon, for he later joined the Mormons in Nauvoo. His first son, Jonas, was born October 13, 1838 in Lancaster, Morgan, Illinois, (15 miles from Geneva, where there was a Mormon stake). It is possible that Reeds were on their way to Zion at that time but stopped upon rumors of violence. Lancaster no longer exists, but it was the location of Dutch's tavern, where Joseph Smith and others stayed while traveling to and from the prophet's habeas corpus hearing in Springfield, 29 Dec 1842. The town was vacated by 1843. By the birth of his next boy, Joel Goss Reed, on June 17, 1840 William Reed's family was in Nauvoo. Joel only lived five months. Jonas died fighting in the Civil War in 1862.

CHAPTER 3 – TILLISON AND JUDITH, MISSOURI

Around the time that John Reed brought his bride and newly adopted son Henry home to Acworth back in 1810, his younger sister Judith married Nahum Benjamin in the groom's hometown of Ashburnham, Massachusetts, where they made their home for the next 15 years. It is probably no coincidence that their Uncle John Reed, Supply's brother, had married a girl from that town 30 years earlier. There seems to have been family and social ties between the two towns.

Tillison Reed, between John and Judith in the birth order, married his first cousin Delia Byam, a girl the same age as Judith, just four months later in Jaffrey, New Hampshire, where Delia's family lived. Since Jaffrey lay on the road to Ashburnham, the two young couples probably stayed in touch even though living 58 miles apart.

All eleven of Tillison and Delia's children were born in Acworth. Their first was named Timothy Sumner Reed, born barely nine months after their wedding. Though Tillison was 25 when the War of 1812 broke out, he did not serve in the military, perhaps because New Hampshire was Federalist territory, home of the famous politician Daniel Webster who ran on the party's Peace Ticket in opposition to what his party called the "Republican War." That year a severe spotted fever epidemic struck Acworth involving nearly every family, and 53 inhabitants died by spring.

Tillison and Delia named their second child Nahum Benjamin Reed after Judith's husband, an indication that the two families were close, and they would remain close for all Tillison's life. Born September 6, 1813, Nahum Benjamin Reed moved to Lowell, Massachusetts as a teenager and became a machinist.

Two years later Tillison and Delia had a daughter whom they named Sally Reed after Tillison's sister who had died at the age of 18. In 1818 their baby son James died at birth. One year later Fidelia was born. She would be the oldest child to accompany them west. Calvin was born in 1821 followed by William Crawford Reed in 1824. The next year Sally died at the age of nine, so they named their next daughter Sarah but always called her Sally in memory of the first two.

Delia's next child was Samuel Jones Reed, born in 1828. On September 30, 1829 the first Temperance Society was organized in Acworth. By 1830 it was reported that "there had been a diminution of the use of ardent spirits (by) two-thirds." In 1833 "it was ascertained that forty

farms in this town are now managed without the use of distilled spirit, and that most of our mechanics have excluded it from their shops."[42]

According to the 1830 census, the population of Acworth was 1,401 that year. None of Delia and Tillison's children were married yet. Two had died, five were still living at home, and two were yet to be born, of which the first barely missed the census on May 21, 1830. John Byam Reed, Delia's 10th child was named after her father.

That fall was when Tillison's older brother John and his family joined up with the Mormons in Ohio. Outside of a possible letter from John, there is no indication that Tillison or any other Reeds in New Hampshire had contact with Mormons by that time.

Judith and Nahum Benjamin had produced a family of three boys and three girls since their marriage in 1810, all born in Ashburnham. Sometime after 1827 Nahum seems to have gone to Michigan, as many New Englanders did, in the great rush for western lands after the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825. The only solid evidence of this venture is a land patent[43] for an 80-acre farm in Washtenaw County near Ann Arbor, Michigan, which was granted to Nahum Benjamin on December 1, 1831, which indicates that he purchased the frontier land sometime between 1827 and 1830.

The imprecision of these dates requires a bit of explaining. Understanding the patent process will become even more important when we discuss claims made by the Reed family in Missouri later in this chapter. The short version is that there is a delay between a settler's claim of land and the issuance of a federal land patent of one to four years, depending upon whether the land was purchased up front or in installments, and how quickly the land office and the federal government processed the claim. The processing time varied wildly due to transportation issues, batching of the claims, and bureaucratic lags.

A settler initiated a claim by travelling to the closest land office and paying a survey fee and at least a down payment on the property. The land officer would assign a claim number on a title document describing the land location and dimensions. The number, which appears in the upper left-hand corner, provides a clue to the time of the claim. After the land was fully paid

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[42] Merrill, John Leverett, *History of Acworth*, Acworth, 1869 p. 123.

[43] Land patents convey title to land obtained directly from the government (rather than from another individual). They are registered and bestowed by the Federal Land Office. Subsequent transfers of land obtained by patent result in a property deed and are registered with a county.

for the document was sent to Washington, where a patent was issued, and the certificate of ownership returned with the President's signature.[44]

The first wagon road into the interior of Michigan was cleared in 1825, augmenting Indian trails used by the former French trappers in the area. The village of Ann Arbor was laid out and platted in May 1824, the first house erected that July, and a sawmill built on the south bank of the Huron River in 1825. Washtenaw County was organized December 31, 1825. The Pontiac and Detroit areas exploded with settlers after the opening of the Erie Canal and steamship lines from Buffalo, and a military road linking Detroit to western Michigan was started around 1829. Although many Native Americans remained in the area, there were no notable clashes with them to slow the immigrants. Most early settlers of Washtenaw County were men in their 20's from New England and the "little states east of the Hudson."[45] Nahum Benjamin was one of them. I think he came without his family, hoping to bring them along later, since there is an unusual gap of five years between the birth of his children Lorenzo in 1825 and Julina in 1830. No record exists for the birth of Julina nor for the death of Nahum and Judith's son Supply sometime after 1819, which suggests the family was no longer in New England, where records were well kept.[46]

Their last daughter, Hannah Alsina, is shown in some family pedigrees (also without documentation) to have been born in Ashburnham, but I think that might be wrong—she was more likely born in Peru, Bennington County, Vermont, about 40 miles east of Acworth, to where Nahum returned after establishing his Michigan claim. In the census of 1830 only the head of a family was listed by name and the rest by age range. It shows that Nahum was living in Peru with a woman and four children ages 5-19. One of his two oldest teenage girls was missing, probably Susan living independently at age 19 in Peru, for she married John B. Wilder there the following year. Interestingly, Wilder was from New Ipswich, New Hampshire, just eight miles across the Massachusetts border from Ashburnham, Susan's old hometown. I suppose their relationship had begun before the family moved to Vermont, and he followed them to marry her. After their wedding, the couple moved back to New Ipswich to live, and that is where their two boys were born and raised.

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[44] The Credit Act of May 10, 1800 authorized the sale of land for no less than $2 per acre and could be paid in four installments if not purchased outright. The buyer would deposit 5% of the purchase price plus survey fees at the time of sale. Within 40 days buyers had to pay an additional 20 percent of the purchase price. Further payments of 25 percent were to be made within two, three, and four years after the date of the sale. For the last three payments, interest was charged at six percent per year. In 1820 the price was lowered to a minimum of $1.25 acres and the minimum acreage was reduced from 640 to 80 acres.

[45] History of Washtenaw County, Michigan, Chicago: Chas. C. Chapman & Co, 1881.

[46] Julina's birth year is given in the LDS genealogical website FamilySearch (without documentation) as 1829, but since she is missing from the 1830 census, it is likely that she was born after that.

Peru, Vermont now supports a ski resort, or vice versa. It is nestled against the rugged spine of the Green Mountains, a lumber town in what was then the New Hampshire Colony, which had been settled in 1773 by families from Connecticut. The town was initially named Bromley after the governor who chartered it, but the name was changed to Peru, which was somehow felt to suggest wealth from silver mines. At the time of the census in 1830 there were only 335 inhabitants.

Although Nahum and Judith Benjamin may not have been aware of it, Judith's brother John Reed joined the Mormon Church in Ohio a few months after the 1830 census. The Benjamins were probably still living in Peru in the summer of 1831 when the sixty members of the Colesville Branch of Mormons moved to Jackson County, Missouri after Joseph Smith received a revelation that Zion would be established there.

I do not know exactly when or why the Benjamins moved to Peru, nor when they left. In fact, I am not sure where they were until 1835 when the family appeared in Clay County Missouri land records. But during that interval, a lot was going on with the Mormons, especially in Michigan, which would soon greatly influence lives of the Reeds and Benjamins.

In the summer of 1831 Hyrum Smith and John Murdock were commanded to go from Kirtland, Ohio to Detroit to preach Mormonism on their way to Jackson County, Missouri.[47] One of the first settlers in Pontiac, Michigan had been Joseph Smith's uncle, Major Stephen Mack. Lucy Mack Smith also preached in Michigan. Her brother had died, but she converted her niece Temperance Mack, David Dort, and several others during her stay of four weeks. She clashed with Reverend Isaac Ruggles of the Congregational Church, prophesying that a third of his church including a deacon would be taken from him, and later set out to make it happen by persuading her son Joseph to send Joseph Wood and Jared Carter to Pontiac in January 1833. Soon he also sent Lyman Wight and John Corrill after which Samuel Bent, a deacon in the Congregational Church in Pontiac, was baptized and immediately excommunicated from his church for embracing Mormonism. By February 16, the missionaries had baptized 22 before they wiped their feet against Detroit and went on to Oakland County to preach.

It was also that summer when Nahum Benjamin's future nephew, Levi Hancock, went on a mission to Jackson County with Zebedee Coltrin, preaching along the way. That August, the missionary George Murdock arrived at Allred's Salt River Settlement in Missouri on the west side of the Mississippi River and preached the next day. Murdock was sick, stayed a week, then gave William Ivie his watch in payment to carry him 70 miles in his wagon to Chariton, travelling right through Huntsville, where Tillison Reed and Nahum Benjamin would later claim property.

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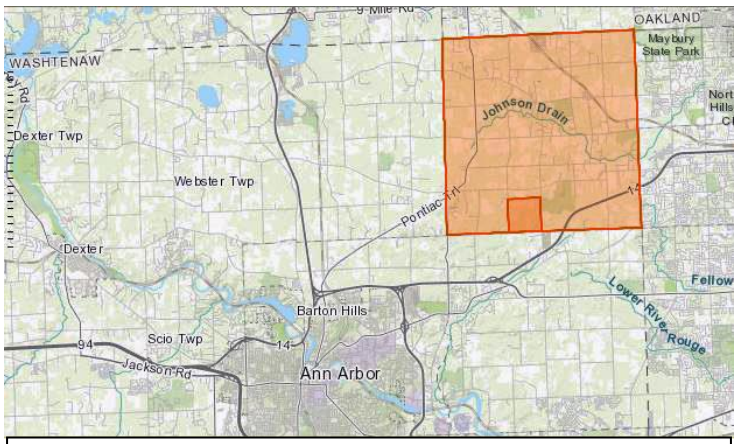
[47] Doctrine and Covenants Section 52.

Here is my theory of what happened next to the Benjamins:

They were probably still in Peru when Susan was married on November 22, 1831. Otherwise, she would have married John Wilder in his own hometown.



The small orange square contains Nahum Benjamin's land on a modern section map, 11 miles from Ann Arbor

Sometime after that, I think the family went together to Michigan to develop the 80 acres which Nahum had bought. By then the Mormons were proselyting in Washtenaw and the surrounding counties. In December 1832 the Mormon missionaries Jared Carter, Moses Bailey, Joseph Wood, and David W. Patten arrived in Saline, Washtenaw to preach. They were run out of Ann Arbor, but found believers in Northfield and other Washtenaw villages. In February 1833 the Huron branch, St. Clair County was founded, which later contributed participants to Zion's Camp. A future Reed family member named Nahum Curtis[48] and his family were baptized in Oakland County in March 1833.[49] Joseph Smith visited Michigan in October 1834. Afterwards several Michigan families sold their property and joined the Church in Missouri. I think it is possible that the Benjamin family was among them.

A second possible theory for the Benjamins' location during those years is that they abandoned Nahum's Michigan claim and returned to Ashburnham after the marriage of their oldest daughter. In this case, it is possible that the location of Nahum and Judith's last child's birth was after all in Ashburnham. If so, the Benjamins and Tillison Reed's family may have traveled together to Ohio, and from there to Missouri.

Or possibly the Benjamins stayed all that time in Peru and the two families traveled together from there. Peru was on the stage route through the mountains going west, the most direct route from Acworth to the Erie Canal.

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[48] I'm warning you right now to pay close attention to distinguishing between the two Nahums (Nahum Benjamin and Nahum Curtis). Both names will appear repeatedly for the rest of this story and you will likely be confused. You must also distinguish between two Levis: Levi Hancock and Levi Jackman.

[49] The Curtis family moved to Caldwell County in 1836 and lived on a farm that was adjacent to Nahum Benjamin. Nahum Curtis later married Delia Reed, the sister-in-law of Nahum Benjamin and widow of Tillison.

In any case, the Benjamins did not take their second daughter Sally with them to Ohio. She was married in Vermont in July 1824 and lived there the rest of her life. Their third daughter, Harriet Augusta, who also stayed, was married in 1838 in New Ipswich, John B. Wilder's hometown. All three of the older Benjamin girls lived the rest of their lives in New England.

Tillison and Delia lived in Acworth until after the birth of their last child, Mary Sophia Reed, on September 6, 1833 when Delia was 43 years old.

It was only a month after Mary Sophia' birth in Acworth, that after eight days of violence mobbers destroyed the community of Big Blue outside of Independence, Missouri on Halloween night and drove the Mormons out of Jackson County.[50]

On November 8, 1833, the Leonid meteor shower was observed throughout America. An average of 7.4 meteors were observed per second over the nine hours of darkness, 28 per second at the peak. It was witnessed by the evicted Missouri pioneers from the bank of the Missouri River, believing it to be a sign of the coming of Christ. After the expulsion, most of the Mormons settled in Clay County, but some scattered to surrounding areas. The first few Mormons to move to what would become Caldwell County arrived in 1833, followed by others the next three years, first in the southwest corner of the county.

Twenty-eight-year-old Parker Reed, the youngest of Supply Reed's children, married Tryphena Smith in Rutland, Vermont on December 23, 1833. His mother, Susannah Byam Reed, had died two years earlier. A decade later, Parker would become the fourth of Supply Reed's children to join the Mormons.

Timothy, the oldest son of Tillison and Delia, married Lucy Morse around 1832 while his parents were still living in Acworth. Lucy died in Fitzwilliam, about 20 miles from New Ipswich in May 1837 with no known children. Timothy remarried that year to Sarah Simonds and raised three sons in Fitzwilliam. He was a deacon in his church and worked in a sawmill. Tillison's second

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[50] Trouble had been building for the Mormons in Hancock County for months. The Mormon newspaper *Morning and Evening Star* was established, which reported revelations and criticized the "wicked Gentiles." In June 1833, the paper published "Free People of Color," which aroused hostility of the proslavery people. There was an anti-Mormon paper in Independence which charged the Mormon leaders with wickedness including that some of the "goods" held in common included their wives. This stirred up the local citizens including Lilburn Boggs, who was living in Independence as Lieutenant Governor, and several of the Saints were brutally beaten. On July 20, 1833, Gentiles meeting from all over the county accused the Mormons, who had by then grown to number 1,200 people, of exercising "a corrupting influence" over the slaves and planning to take over the county. They decreed "that no Mormon shall in future move and settle in this country" and that "those now here, who shall give a definite pledge of their intention within a reasonable time to remove out of the country, shall be allowed to remain unmolested until they have sufficient time to sell their property and close their business…that the editor of the *Star* be required to close his office, and discontinue the business of printing in this county." It went on to ban any further emigration of Mormons.

son Nahum Benjamin Reed became a machinist in the textile mill city[51] of Lowell, Massachusetts. He married there at the age of 31 and died childless two years later during a cholera epidemic.[52] Tillison and Delia's next two children died young.

That October was when John Reed bought property in Kirtland and moved there from his mill and farm in nearby Rome Township, Ohio to work full time on the Kirtland Temple.

Sometime between the birth of their last daughter Mary Sophia on September 6, 1833 and June of 1836 the Tillison Reed family moved to Kirtland, Ohio with their seven youngest children. By the later date, they ranged in age from two to 17. They did not take their two married sons with them.

The only information that I have been able to find on the timing and reason for Tillison and Delia's move from Acworth is from the most careful of Delia's biographies, which was written by her great granddaughter and super genealogist, Donna Scott. Donna mentioned "letters from eastern relatives" which were in her possession,[53] which "do not mention the fact that Tillison and Delia Deliverance Reed had joined the Mormon Church in Acworth. The letters say they moved to Ohio, and thence to Nauvoo, and on to Utah Territory." That they had not yet joined the Mormon Church agrees with my own research. I studied the biographies and missionary journals of all the missionaries that I could identify who served in the eastern states during that time including the mission of the Quorum of the Twelve in 1835, the missions of Amasa Lyman, Orson Pratt, John P. Greene, and others. None of them mentioned Acworth or Cheshire County, let alone the Reed family.[54]

My best guess is that the family left Acworth around 1835 (plus or minus a year). They probably took the stage route through Peru, Vermont to Albany and the Erie Canal, which took them by

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[51] Beginning in the early 19th century, the village grew to become a major center of cotton textile manufacturing, with an abundance of waterpower from the Merrimack's Pawtucket Falls and the completion of the Middlesex Canal link to Boston in 1803. By 1824 the locality was crisscrossed by a canal system that served numerous cotton textile mills along the Merrimack River. The community was incorporated as a town in 1826 and was named for Francis Cabot Lowell, a pioneer textile industrialist who was influenced by the organizational reforms of Robert Owen. Lowell's mills gained attention and renown for being staffed by the so-called "mill girls," young women predominantly from neighboring rural communities who were given the opportunity to pursue gainful employment. https://www.britannica.com/place/Lowell-Massachusetts

[52] On Nahum's page of the city's death log were listed 45 people in that city who died between the 15th and the 25th of that month—29 of them from cholera, dysentery, or diarrhea, mostly young adults. Lowell's population at the time was around 30,000.

[53] Sadly, Donna died in 1984 and I have been unable to locate the letters despite contacting several of her descendants.

[54] Interestingly, the Seventies Quorum Membership record gives Calvin Reed's baptismal date as 1833. If that is true, it must have happened in Acworth. However, this information was acquired decades later and probably via verbal interview. I do not consider the date reliable.

boat to Buffalo, and by steamship to Kirtland, Ohio, where they likely stayed with Tillison's older brother, John Reed. Tillison and Delia were probably in Kirtland on March 27, 1836 for the dedication of the Kirtland temple and the associated miraculous spiritual manifestations.

By then the Mormons in Missouri were being pressured by their gentile neighbors to leave Clay County, Missouri and were looking for a permanent site. Immigrants were flooding in from Kirtland, Michigan, and many of the eastern states. On June 2nd W.W. Phelps wrote to Joseph Smith from Liberty, Clay County that he had recently taken two expeditions to the north scouting potential places for Saints to locate.

Donna Scott wrote, "We do not know if Delia's baptism in Missouri, June 1836[55] by John P. Greene,[56] was a re-baptism or not: it could well have been." This is an important bit of information, but Donna was not completely correct—if Elder Greene did the baptizing, then the place must have been Kirtland, not Missouri, since that is where Greene and his family lived until moving to Far West in the spring of 1838. The location of the baptism was likely an assumption by Donna, since the temple ordinance note that was likely her source does not give a place. And this could not have been a re-baptism for Delia, for according to Michael Quinn's definitive article on the subject,[57] that practice first began in Nauvoo around 1842. I have no evidence that Tillison or any of his children joined the Mormon Church in Kirtland. In fact, I am not certain that Tillison ever joined, but probably all seven children did at some point.

It must have been immediately after Delia's baptism that Tillison and Delia joined the exodus from Kirtland for Missouri. My current thinking is that with their families, Tillison and Nahum Benjamin set out together from Kirtland for Missouri in June 1836. They stopped in Huntsville, Randolph County, a day's journey past the Allred settlement, a well-known stopping place for Mormons on their way to Zion, and together[58] applied for land near Huntsville. To do so, they would have had to travel 29 miles south to the land office in Fayette. It is a mystery why they stopped there to claim land, since they were only 100 miles from their destination, where the Saints were gathering. I believe it is possible that Tillison's family stayed on that land, but the Benjamins definitely went on to the new development in northern Ray County (soon to become

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[55] Family Search, temple section. https://www.familysearch.org/tree/person/ordinances/L265-45K

[56] Greene was a Methodist minister at Mendon, New York, a friend of Heber C. Kimball. He met the early missionary Samuel Smith, the prophet's brother, who sold Greene a copy of the Book of Mormon. Greene didn't read it, but his wife Rhoda, who happened to be a sister to Brigham Young did. That book eventually reached the hands of Brigham and resulted in his baptism. Greene joined the Mormons in April 1832 and served a total of 11 missions for the church. Later, as the chief of police in Nauvoo, Illinois in 1844, Greene supervised the destruction of the press of the Nauvoo Expositor and was part of a group of men that accompanied Joseph and Hyrum Smith to the Carthage jail.

[57] Quinn's article can be found at https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/byusq/vol18/iss2/9/

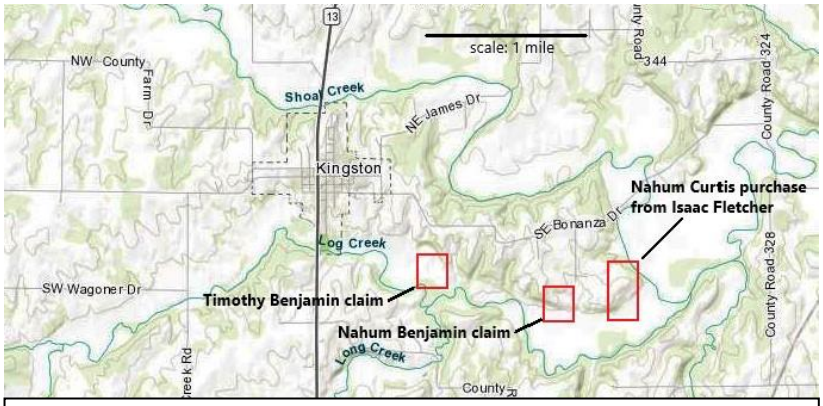
[58] The serial numbers on their patent documents were consecutive.

Caldwell) and filed a claim for additional property for Nahum, and another a few months later for his son Timothy. That filing required a 45-mile trip to the Lexington land office. Although the actual patents were awarded much later about a year and a half apart, the serial numbers for all four of the family properties near Huntsville and in northern Ray County suggest a claim date around June 1836. Although the issuance of patents for claims on federal land lags far behind the settlement and claim dates, the serial numbers issued at the land office when the claim is registered give valuable clues. For example, Tillison and Nahum's patent documents for the land near Huntsville show consecutive serial numbers (11,875 and 11,876), which proves that they registered at the same time. One of their neighbors, a man named Montillian Richardson, filed for nearby land and was given the number 11,547, which suggests that he filed just a short time earlier. Richardson filed for another claim nearby, receiving the number 15,547. Although Richardson's claims were made over two years apart from each other as implied by their numbers, both patents were issued on the same day that Tillison and Nahum's were. Richardson had received an earlier patent in 1831 with the serial number 3,609. By comparing these serial numbers and many others for claims in Fayette for the previous nine years I was able to piece together several useful facts. By comparing each batch of patents, I could see that the number of applications increased each year by about 45 percent, which allowed me to estimate actual date of each claim which I believe is accurate within a few months.

Some 1836 land claims in Randolph County, Missouri

The Mormons continued streaming into northern Ray (soon to be Caldwell) County from the earlier Clay and Ray County settlements and more significantly from Kirtland and even some from the mission field. Nearly a year before Caldwell County was formed, the Mormons had already selected Far West, a one-mile square plot on Shoal Creek as their principal town and were clustering around it and along lower Shoal Creek, buying up government land in 40- or 80-acre plots. The population was growing wildly. Far West was later enlarged to four miles, with blocks 396 feet square and four avenues 132 feet wide. The other streets were 82.5 feet wide, set at right angles. That fall a large schoolhouse was built. There the county court met, and the school was also used for a church and town hall. Some families moved 15 miles further into

Daviess County, where Lyman Wight established a ferry across the Grand River north of Gallatin at Adam-ondi-Ahman.



Benjamin and Curtis Farms on modern map

That month the Nahum Curtis family arrived in Missouri from Michigan. They located 10 miles south of Far West in a two-room cabin near Log Creek, buying out Jesse Fletcher, one of the original Gentile inhabitants. Fletcher also owned property in Ray County to which he retired. The Curtis farm was adjacent to the farms of Nahum Benjamin and his son Timothy on the eastern border of present-day Kingston, just 5 miles (as the crow flies) west of Far West on Log Creek and Shoal Creek. Nahum Benjamin bought his government land on Log Creek on September 23, 1836. His son Timothy purchased his 40 acres on January 25, 1837 when Caldwell County was officially less than four weeks old.

Tillison Reed died at the age of 49 on August 21, 1836. There are no source materials to document the place, the date, or the cause, and the family stories vary. They do agree on the date (give or take a week.) Some say that he died of illness, others that he was killed by the mobs. Most give the place as Caldwell County, which is impossible, since Caldwell County did not yet exist--it was still Ray County in August. The truth about Tillison's death will likely never be conclusively proven, but I have developed my own theory, which I would like to present to you.

Since there is no real disagreement about the date, I accept it as likely accurate. But if the date is correct, he was not murdered by the mob, for this was a brief time of peace in Missouri. The violence in Independence had ended in 1833 and the trouble in Caldwell and Daviess Counties would not begin until the summer of 1838. Tillison died of illness or possibly an accident. If the family was still in Kirtland in June for Delia's baptism, Tillison had barely enough time to make the trip to Missouri before he died in August, in fact, there is a good chance that he died along the way, and never even made it to Caldwell County. There are several stories of early missionaries during the previous three years experiencing severe illness on the trip including

two who had to stop at the Allred settlement for weeks or months to recover before they could make it across Missouri.[59]

As to the place, I believe that he likely died on the land he claimed in Randolph County. I have found no documentation of Tillison or his wife Delia living in Clay or Caldwell Counties, neither in land records nor in church historical writings. That is not the case for his brothers John Reed and Nahum Benjamin, to whom there are several references, both in historical sources and, in Nahum's case, land records as well. My theory is that the family stopped in Huntsville, which was on the so-called Louisiana Road[60] to Mormon Zion, perhaps planning to set up a convenient waystation for Mormon migrants just a day's travel past the Allred settlement, and they just never made the full move to Zion before the troubles resumed and the Saints fled to Illinois. It is technically possible that Tillison made it to Caldwell County and died there, but then how can the paid-up land patent in Randolph County be explained?

And how can the patent date for his land be January 10, 1840? No patent is issued until the land is paid off. If he paid it off before he died, the patent would have been issued no later than 1838,[61] but the date on Tillison's land patent is January 10, 1840, which is more than three years after his death and almost a year after the Saints' exodus from Caldwell County in the winter of 1839. The only explanation that makes sense to me is that the land was bought in installments and not completely paid off for two more years after his death. To accomplish this, there must have been someone working the land in Huntsville and making payments. Since Nahum Benjamin filed on land in Randolph county the same day that Tillison did and were granted patents on the same day, both must have paid for their land in installments, which could have delayed the issuance of the patent until two years after the final payment.

In Kirtland on November 1836 Joseph Smith noted, "The Saints, having gathered in considerable numbers on Shoal Creek, Missouri, have petitioned for an act of incorporation of a new county, which was granted about the middle of December, under the name of Caldwell County, from which time a fresh impetus was given to the gathering and the county grew like Jonah's gourd."[62]

The land that is now Caldwell County was surveyed in 1829 and made available for purchase, but less than 4,000 acres had been purchased by 1835, the equivalent of about fifty 80-acre

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[59] Two of these were Levi Hancock and George Murdock.

[60] The name Louisiana Road refers to the Mississippi River ferry in the town of Louisiana, Missouri which is 40 miles east of the Allred settlement.

[61] I was able to determine the interval between payment and receipt of a patent for over a dozen different land claims during the Mormon time in Missouri and found that it averaged 24 months. The shortest was 21 months and the longest was 30.

[62] History of the Church, Deseret Book, Salt Lake City, Volume 2, p. 468.

farms. Although Caldwell County did not officially exist until December 31, 1836, Mormons began buying up the property almost a year earlier. In that year 19,560 acres were bought followed by 26,280 acres in 1837 after the creation of the county. The number of sales dropped to 1,920 acres in 1838 despite large numbers of Mormon immigrants. This was probably a combination of saturation with fewer choice locations around streams and wooded areas, a diversion of immigrants into the surrounding counties, and hesitation to purchase land during the rising political unrest in 1838 which led to expulsion. Many of the later immigrants were arriving from Kirtland as refugees, too poor to purchase land and setting up wagons and tents temporarily on the farms of established families. Still, the land bought by Mormons those three years totaled 47,760 acres, enough for about 1,200 family farms of 40 acres.[63]

Since Nahum Benjamin was living on his land in Caldwell County during 1836 and 1837, Delia's boys may have been working both properties in Huntsville, possibly with the help of neighbors. However, there is evidence that the oldest boy, 16-year-old Calvin Reed, was in Caldwell County in 1838, which I will present soon.

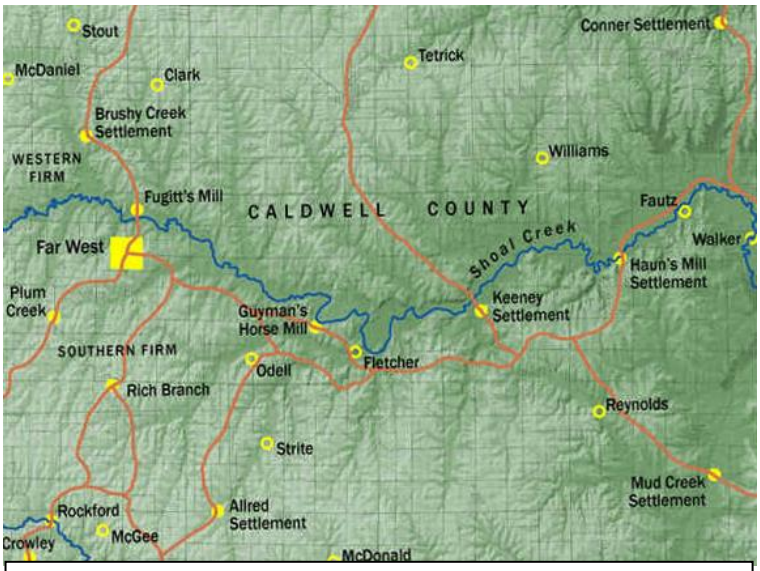
Alexander Doniphan
Courtesy of Library of Congress

On the 29th of December Alexander Doniphan,[64] Clay County's representative to the state legislature submitted a bill to create a new Caldwell County to house the Latter-day Saints, measuring 18 by 24 miles, and to make Far West the county seat. It was determined that the legislature would devote the entire new county to settlement by Mormons. Since it was mostly prairie, Caldwell County was not considered prime property. The Gentile inhabitants were to sell out, and the Mormons would agree not to settle in the neighboring counties without consent of the prior inhabitants.[65] When the idea was initially resisted, the legislature compromised by creating Daviess County to the north and moving the southern border of Caldwell to give more land to Ray County on the south.

[63] John C. Hamer, *Northeast of Eden, Atlas of Mormon Settlement in Caldwell County, Missouri, 1834-39*, John Whitmer Books, Independence, Missouri, 2011.

[64] Alexander William Doniphan was a 19th-century American attorney, soldier and politician from Missouri who is best known today as the man who prevented the summary execution of Joseph Smith, founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, at the close of the 1838 Mormon War in that state.

[65] Settling in a neighboring county required express consent and written permission of 2/3 of the non-Mormon residents in each township they wished to settle.



Caldwell County Settlements 1938

The legislation designated the county seat to be at Far West, providing for schools, justices of the peace, and a Mormon county militia. There were several larger settlements in the new county besides Far West, two of the main ones being Hawn's Mill[66] and the Curtis settlement (denoted Fletcher on this map) which included Nahum and Timothy Benjamin. Settlements were made up and down Shoal Creek, especially in the southern townships establishing shops, stores, and preparing for immigrants from Kirtland as well as other areas. Daviess County was also formed with Gallatin as the county seat. It was technically open for anyone to settle, though it was generally expected that Mormon church members would stay in Caldwell.

By August of 1836 Levi and Clarissa Reed Hancock sold their house in Kirtland and started for Missouri, stopping in Illinois on the way for two weeks to lay a floor for a man to make money. By March 1837 Levi and Clarissa had obtained their Missouri property.

In the spring, James and Elizabeth Allred moved their eleven children from the Allred settlement in Salt Springs to Caldwell County where they established a family settlement.[67] Their granddaughter Emma was born in Caldwell on April 6, 1837.

Between the entries for December 1836 and February 1837, in his journal[68] Joseph Smith noted that the brethren in Missouri were busy gathering into Caldwell County, entering United States land, building houses, and preparing to put in crops in the spring. A non-Mormon historian wrote:

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[66] In 1834 there had been only about 40 families in the northern part of Ray County, Missouri which was to become Caldwell County. One of them was Jacob Hawn, who had come in the spring of 1832 from Green Bay, Wisconsin to build his mill on Shoal Creek. Until Jacob Hawn's mill was erected, corn meal for bread was made by mortar and pestle or a coffee grinder. Most if not all the families were Gentiles including Hawn's. No serious farming was attempted until 1835 except for a "truck patch" for potatoes, a little corn, and a few vegetables.

[67] The Allred family are early settlers of Ephraim and the founders of Spring City, Utah.

[68] *History of the Church*, Vol. 2, p. 475.

> The early settlers raised everything they ate and manufactured nearly everything they wore. They had smoke houses for meat and fine-flavored honey, which was so common it was used as axel grease. There was little coffee or sugar and no tea. Hogs and cattle were common, so were bacon and lard, more than the settlers could use, but there was no market for them. The woods were a paradise for hunters, and inhabited by bears, panthers, and wolves, which were frequently encountered and shot to protect the domestic animals. The sheep and hogs had to be penned each night. Deer were plentiful and could be killed almost anywhere and anytime. Wild turkeys and squirrels were also hunted and eaten. Along the streams in the timber, standing hollow tree housed bees, containing from a quart to five gallons of honey. The trees would be marked by the finder, and cutting another man's bee tree, no matter where it stood, was considered stealing. There were many rattlesnakes. A few LDS settled in Daviess County that year, where they built the town of Diamon (Adam-on-Diamon), claiming it to have been the burial place of Adam. This was done with written permission of the few Gentiles there, but there were a lot (of Mormons there) in 1838. In the spring of 1838 George W. Hinkle and John Murdock purchased the town site at DeWitt in Carroll County on the Missouri for the Mormons as a steamboat landing point for sending goods to Caldwell County. 100 houses were built there. All these moves were supposedly made with the required permission and by purchase, but the Gentiles, who were ready for the money, later claimed that the Mormon occupation had been by fraud. [69]

Most of the new immigrants were poor, affording to buy and improve no more than 40 acres and nearly all of them lived in log cabins. Those without money were given cabins by the Church. There were many craftsmen, mechanics, and artisans and many people of education including many schoolteachers who opened schools. By April 7th, the High Council was meeting in Far West. Joseph Smith visited Caldwell County for the first time in November.

Things were falling apart for the Mormons in Kirtland. In January 1838, the prophet fled Kirtland at 10 pm under cover of darkness and by mid-March had moved permanently to Far West with his family, where he lived for eight months. Caldwell County had 8-10,000 people by then. In the first seven months of 1838 over 1,600 people left Kirtland for Missouri. On March 23, 1838 Hepzibah Richards wrote in her journal[70] "Probably an hundred and 25 families or more remain in Kirtland," as a mass exodus later called the Poor Camp was being planned. By the end of the year only about 100 Latter-day Saints remained there.

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[69] *History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties*, Missouri, National Historical company, St. Louis.

[70] https://www.familysearch.org/tree/person/memories/LHCT-RSN

In April, the prophet Joseph Smith proclaimed that the land around Wight's Ferry in Gallatin County was the site of the place Adam settled after being banished from the Garden of Eden. The Mormon population of that county soon exploded to 1,500.

On April 28, 1838, a High Council court was held in the schoolhouse at Far West in which Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon participated[71] in which "Br. (Nahum) Benjamin testifie(d) that Calvin Reed, a boy of about 15 years of age, said he had a revelation or vision, in which he saw Br. Jackson dead or preaching to the spirits in prison &c." Calvin Reed was the son of Tillison and Delia. The issue was that Sister Jackson had come from Kirtland in 1837 expecting her husband to follow. When he did not show up, her neighbor, a widower named Aaron Lyon, the presiding high priest at Guymon's mill,[72] told her he had been told in a vision that her husband had died, and that he should marry her. Just before the wedding the missing husband arrived fully alive, travelling with Joseph Smith himself, and brought charges against Lyon. This court was hearing Lyon's appeal, and Nahum Benjamin was testifying on behalf of Lyon. The council determined that Lyon could retain his church membership, but his priesthood office was revoked.[73]

This is the only evidence that I have found for any of Tillison's family living in Caldwell County. From the context it appears that young Calvin Reed was living with the Benjamins at the time—perhaps his whole family was. If his mother Delia and the rest of the family were still working the farm outside of Huntsville in Randolph County, it was without the valuable help of her oldest available son. The next oldest boy was only 12. Calvin was not in Caldwell County for the purpose of schooling. The first schools in Caldwell County were taught by the Mormons, but the very first class was by Miss Mary Ann Duty in an abandoned cabin on Long Creek during the summer of 1838.

In June, the trouble with the Gentiles began to brew again, chiefly in Daviess county, which had been set aside for non-Mormons, but was quickly filling up with new immigrants. Philo Dibble wrote that in that month mobs began threatening. In Far West, Sampson Avard, Jared Carter, and George W. Robinson formed a secret military society called the "Daughter of Zion." Porter Rockwell joined the order, which was later known as the Danites.

John Reed finally moved his family "in the month of June" from Kirtland, according to his redress affidavit,[74] "to the County of Livingston" (actually Caldwell County). He got a job there

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[71] https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/minutes-28-april-1838-as-reported-by-ebenezer-robinson/3

[72] Guymon's mill was less than a mile from the Benjamins—Lyon was probably their priesthood leader.

[73] Aaron Lyon found another woman to marry after the Saints fled to Nauvoo, but the marriage lasted only four months. He was drowned in Bear Creek in Hancock Co., Illinois September 30, 1839.

[74] Because of the losses suffered by the Latter-day Saints in Missouri due to persecution from mobs, Joseph Smith appealed for redress from the federal government. During 1839, affidavits were collected from the men and

working on the mill and the blacksmith shop for Jacob Hawn. It is likely that John's adopted son Henry Green had travelled along with his family. John and Rebecca arrived with seven unmarried children: 22-year-old John H., 20-year-old William, 14-year-old Joel, 12-year-old Lydia, 10-year-old Laura, eight-year-old Levi, and three-year-old Ira.

John's oldest son Lee and his oldest daughter Caroline did not go with them. Lee was settled into life in Ohio with a family of five children with and another on the way. Caroline had married a young man from Acworth (their families must had known each other) named Ira Beckwith seven years earlier in 1831. John and Rebecca Reed had named their last child, born June 25, 1835 in Kirtland, after him. Tragically, the original Ira Beckwith died on July 7, 1838, probably just a few weeks after the family had departed. Caroline did not marry again until 1843[75] and never left Ashtabula County.

Evidently John and Rebecca's adopted son Henry and his wife Louisa went to Missouri with them, although Louisa's infant daughter Mary Caroline supposedly died in Ohio on October 11, 1838. I think it is more likely that she died in Caldwell County.

By the summer of 1838 there were 150 houses in Far West with four dry goods stores, three groceries, six blacksmith shops, and two hotels and a printing press, although no printing was ever done there. That summer the cellar of the temple was excavated, 120 x 80 feet in area and five feet deep, by 500 men using shovels and wheelbarrows. The cornerstones were laid July 4, 1838. However, due to the renewed persecutions the Mormons held up further work.

The official date of departure for Kirtland's "Poor Camp," a party of 515 members, was July 28, 1838. Hepzibah Richards wrote that they took large wagons with canvas tops and tents able to accommodate 18 persons. Women and children were to sleep in the wagons. Runners would go ahead and lay up provisions. They would travel five days per week, 8-10 weeks on the road, making a string of teams over a mile long. They started with prayers at 4 am and traveled 12-20 miles per day. Before their arrival there were already 5,000 inhabitants in Caldwell County of which 4,900 were Mormons.

On July 28, a land patent was issued in Caldwell County to 21-year-old Timothy Benjamin (serial number 9,841) for 40 acres next to his father's land about 25 months after their arrival. This date represents the first batch of approvals since the county was created—many, maybe most are dated September 20, 1839, serial numbers in the 11,000s, which suggests that few filed on

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women who had experienced these losses. These petitions were then taken to Washington. D.C. to get either Congress or President Martin Van Buren to recognize the seriousness of the Saint's conditions and provide compensation.

[75] Caroline Reed Beckwith's second husband was Hezekiah Platt.

land in Caldwell County after about September 1837. No wonder that Mormons felt compelled to settle in Daviess County.

On August 6, the residents of Carroll County into which Mormon settlers were spilling, voted on election day to expel the Mormons. Two members of the Far West High Council, George M. Hinkle and John Murdock, had been sent to take possession of the mostly vacant town of DeWitt and colonize it, and they refused to leave.

August 6 was also election day in Gallatin in Daviess County, the site of the first skirmish in the so-called 1838 Mormon War, when Gentiles tried to forcibly prevent Mormons from voting. One of the candidates for the state legislature, William Peniston, had called the Mormons "horse-thieves and robbers" and warned them not to vote in the election. Around 200 "poll-watchers" brawled with Mormons who were determined to vote. After the crowd dispersed, the Missourians went home to arm themselves and soon Joseph Smith appeared from Far West with a party of men to investigate and to meet with the judge and the sheriff. Both sides agreed to an uneasy truce committing to abide by law and to surrender all offenders to the authorities.

On September 3, 1838 Nahum and Judith Benjamin's neighbor Millicent Curtis died after two weeks of illness. On that very day, the alarm was sounded for her husband Nahum Curtis and his oldest three sons to defend Far West, according to Mary Curtis, Millicent's daughter. Moses Curtis' biographer wrote that Joseph Smith personally asked the Curtis men to make a gathering place at the Curtis settlement for Saints being driven from their homes and stand as guards over them as protection from mob violence.

In his autobiography Millicent's son Joseph Curtis wrote:

> Soon after (my mother's death) I went to [Adam] Ondi Ahman, 25 miles north to fight if necessary in defense of the citizens of that place in company with others as a mob had gathered and commenced depredations, also threatening to drive the Saints. I remained there about a week. Made several excursions under the command of Col. Dunham. Amasa Lyman and others returned home.

Millicent's son George H. Curtis wrote about the Benjamins in his autobiography. At age 15 and scared, George had been asked to stand guard against the mob by Brother Aaron Lyman.

> A little after dark, Brother Lyman, Carlos, and I started for Nahum Benjamin's house about one-half mile away. He lived on a public road running north. A few days before this I had seen about 30 men with their guns and wagons going in this same direction, which led to Daviess county, where the fuss first started… We reached Benjamins' alright.

Then he told of horsemen overtaking them in the night and they were ready to shoot, but it turned out to be Charles C. Rich and Amasa Lyman. All parties were relieved to have avoided friendly fire.

> They came in and we had supper about 11 pm and they went on their way rejoicing. Soon after this the Haun's (sic) Mill massacre took place. We lived 7 miles east of Far West and 12 miles east of Shoal Creek. The mob intended to come upon us, but due to smoke and darkness, they turned onto a better road that led to Far West.

September 20th 150 armed men rode into DeWitt and demanded that the Mormons leave within ten days. When refused, the Carroll County forces besieged the town on October 1.

In the meantime, on October 2 the bedraggled Poor Camp arrived at Far West. They had been traveling for three months and three days, not knowing they were arriving at a hornet's nest.

The governor's response on October 9th to the trouble at DeWitt was that the Mormons and the mob should "fight it out," and they did. In their redress petition the Mormons wrote:

> A mob party from two to three hundred in number, many of whom are supposed to have come from Chariton, fell on our people and notwithstanding they begged for quarters shot down and killed eighteen, as they would so many wild beasts. They (our people) were finally compelled to fly from those counties; and on the 11th of October 1838, they sought safety by that means, with their families, leaving many of their effects behind.

The DeWitt Mormons fled to Far West.

The Battle of Crooked River took place in Ray County on October 24. Just over the southern border of Caldwell County the Ray County militia had begun disarming Mormons and ordering them to move to Far West, capturing three of them. In response David Patten led the Caldwell County militia into Ray County, where they attacked the militia encampment. Three Mormons including Patten were killed and one Missouri militia man. Another Missourian was overpowered and mutilated but survived.

Governor Lilburn Boggs' infamous extermination order was issued October 27 partly in response to the Battle of Crooked River. According to his family biographer, John Reed had a dream that night in which he saw the creek running red with blood. He took the dream as a warning and left Hawn's Mill safely with his family three days before the attack there, heading for Daviess County. In his redress affidavit he did not mention the dream but wrote: "…and in the fall (I) was ordered by the inhabitants to leave the place in 15 days or be massacred." The Reeds had been living at Hawn's Mill for about four months.

Years later, Mary Curtis, the daughter on Nahum and Millicent, wrote.

> I well remember the night of the surrender and of the Haun's Mill Massacre for some of the young men slipped away and came home. It gave us a great scare. The next day our neighbor, a Missourian that lived a mile away, came in and told us what the mob told him they had done. They asked about our settlement, but he directed them on the other road. Told them there was no one at our place but a few women and children. A man by the name of Levi Jackman was living at my father's place. We had heard our leaders had said we would be safe there, but he could not be satisfied. He was scarcely able to ride but he had his son get the wagon ready. He got into it, went to Far West and saw the Prophet Joseph. When he asked him if we would be safe in that place, he said, "Yes. That we would not be disturbed, but be wise, and for the men not to be seen around."

Levi Jackman was justice of the peace in Far West but had lost his farm "on account of mob operations" and spent the winter in one part of Nahum Curtis' house. "It was a kind family," wrote Levi. His daughter Aurelia later married Nahum Curtis' son Moses. Levi Jackman had been an early convert to Mormonism in 1831, was ordained an Elder by Oliver Cowdery, went with Zion's Camp to Missouri, and was a member of the High Council in Clay County.

Three days later Hawn's Mill was attacked. Next to the mill were a blacksmith shop, a half dozen houses, and perhaps 20 Mormon families who had been on their way to Far West, some living in tents and covered wagons. As the mobs gathered, Jacob Hawn himself was said[76] to have gone to the prophet for advice, who advised them to abandon the mill and flee to Far West, saying it was better for the people to lose their property than their lives. After Hawn expressed his opinion that the group could defend itself, Joseph relented, saying they would consider him a tyrant if he forced them. The commander of the attackers was William O. Jennings, the 24-year-old sheriff of Livingston County, evidently acting without orders from Governor Boggs or any other superior authority, although the governor later approved the

[76] John Doyle Lee, Alfred Henry Lewis, *The Mormon Menace, The Confessions of John Doyle, Lee, Danite*, New York: Home Protection Publishing co. 1905. Chapter V. The Mormon War.

action. The force included men from Daviess, Livingston, Ray, Carroll, and Chariton Counties including prominent men such as a member of the Missouri State Legislature and the Livingston County Clerk. The attackers numbered about 240 men against about 28 Mormon men. Seventeen Mormons were killed and 12 more were wounded. None of the attackers were killed but three were wounded.[77] Many of the refugees fled to Nahum Curtis' cabin, where the floors were covered with makeshift beds. Possibly John Reed and his family were there among them, having fled from Hawn's Mill themselves just three days earlier.

Quoting further from John Reed's affidavit:

> I then for my safety moved to Daviess Co, (and) there bought the betterment of 260 acres of land. While I was making preparation to take possession of the place the mob tore down the house that I intended to occupy, and I was compelled to live in an uncomfortable shanty in the most severe cold and stormy weather.

On November 1, 1838 Joseph Smith, Hyrum, and four other leaders surrendered to the combined forces of Missourians. From the Church's redress petition: "Several members of the Society were arrested and imprisoned on a charge of treason against the State." They were taken to Independence where they "…served the same purpose that a caravan of wild animals would for a show, as hundreds of people called to see us" while they were awaiting trial.[78]

After the leaders were arrested, the militia surrounded Far West and forced the Mormons to give up their arms after which about 60 additional men were captured and marched 30 miles south to Richmond and held for a preliminary hearing. Parley P. Pratt described them as "heads of families." No Benjamin or Reed men were among them in the published list,[79] but evidently 17-year-old Joseph Curtis was among them. He later wrote of the event:

> Soon our leading men were delivered into their hands by our commander, G.M. Hinkle. The brethren surrendered their arms. I laid down a gun belonging to Brother (Nahum) Benjamin… I with others was taken prisoner. Went to Richmond, Missouri. Saw the prisoners. We were soon let free.

In his redress petition, Joseph's brother Moses also claimed to have been taken as a prisoner to Richmond and then released.

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[77] An excellent account of the attack can be found on this link at Family Search.

[78] This refers to Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Parley P. Pratt, Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, and George Robinson.

[79] Annette W. Curtis and William J. Curtis, *Richmond, Missouri: Some Historic Sites in Mormon History and Mormon Prisoners in Richmond, Missouri*, *1838*, Independence, MO: Missouri Mormon Frontier Foundation, 2006, p. 24–27.

Levi Hancock and his brothers were among the few who had not given up their weapons. According to one of Levi's biographers, sixteen guns had not been surrendered, their owners causing much consternation among the mobbers firing from under cover in a thicket. Levi, Joseph, and Solomon Hancock with their guns guarded and fed 600 Mormons while camped in the woods after they had been driven from their homes.[80]

After two or three weeks the Richmond group of captives was brought before a judge and 29 were released for lack of evidence. Twenty-four more were released on bail for future trial. Their trial was never held, and they all forfeited their bail money when driven out of Missouri.

In the meantime, General Robert Wilson, a lawyer and Brigadier General in the Missouri militia, was sent to Diahman to ensure the peace. On his arrival there, he placed guards around the town, so that no person might pass out or in without permission. All the men in the town, which must have included John Reed, were then arrested and put under guard. A court of inquiry was instituted, with Justice of the Peace Adam Black on the bench, who had been part of the mob from the time hostilities first commenced in Daviess County, but after two or three days of investigation, every man was honorably acquitted. General Wilson then ordered every family to be out of Diahman in 10 days with permission to go to Caldwell County and there tarry until spring, but then to leave the state under pain of extermination. They had to leave their houses and camp in tents and wagons, and their animals were confiscated by the militia.[81]

General Wilson gave John Reed and 11 other men written permission to pass and re-pass-through Daviess Co. that winter.[82] The note read:

> I permit the following persons as a committee on the part of the Mormons to pass and repass in and through the county of Daviess during the winter to wit, Wm. Huntington, John Reed, Benjamin S. Wilbur, Mayhew Hillman, Z. Wilson, Elijah B. Gaylord, Henry Herriman, Daniel Stanton, Oliver Snow, Wm. Earl, Wm. Hayle and Henry Humphrey upon all careful business. November 18, 1838, R. Wilson Brg. Gen.

The committee members were to wear white badges on their hats for their protection. Huntington, the foreman of the committee, wrote that they could remain in Daviess County for one month.[83]

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[80] Shirley N. Maynes, *Five Hundred Wagons Stood Still – Mormon Battalion Wives*, 1999, p.227.

[81] *"A History, of the Persecution, of the Church of Jesus Christ, of Latter Day Saints in* Missouri*,"* in Times and Seasons (Commerce/Nauvoo, IL), vol. 1, nos. 2–12: Dec. 1839, edited by Ebenezer Robinson and Don Carlos Smith.

[82] William Huntington, autobiography, typescript, BYU, Pg. 6.

[83] Robert Wilson, Keytesville, MO, to John B. Clark, 25 Nov. 1838, copy, Mormon War Papers, MSA; Huntington, Diaries of William Huntington, 6–7.

Of this, John Reed wrote further:

> From this place I was ordered by the militia to go back to Caldwell Co., but in consequence of having been appointed with eleven others to settle with the inhabitants I remained in Diahman after our people had left and at this time received great abuse both by threatening my life and stealing my property such as clothing, household stuff, tool, &c together with one cow and calf.

Philo Dibble in later life

On November 12 in Far West, Philo Dibble[84] cleverly created and filed a deed for a large number of leading Mormon men transferring their combined properties for $5 each to a single person, Brother David Fullmer of Daviess County, Fullmer designating the proceeds toward care of the homeless women and their children. This prevented Missourians from getting deeds to that large amount of property until November 29, 1901 when it was finally obtained "by default."

On November 30, 1838 Joseph Smith, his brother Hyrum, Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, Caleb Baldwin, and Alexander McRae were imprisoned in a jail in Liberty, Missouri, for crimes allegedly committed during conflicts with other Missourians over the previous several months. An initial hearing in Richmond, Missouri found sufficient evidence that Church leaders had committed crimes against the state of Missouri, and the court ordered that they be held in the Clay County Jail in Liberty until their trial in late spring 1839. Parley P. Pratt, King Follett, Morris Phelps, and Luman Gibbs, the last one according to Pratt having "denied the faith" in an unsuccessful effort to be released, were sent on a charge of murder in the Battle of Crooked River to jail in Columbia, Missouri, where they remained nearly forgotten for months after Joseph Smith and his group escaped from Liberty Jail in April 1839.

Dozens of defeated Mormon militiamen including Charles C. Rich, Hosea Stout, Samuel Smith, Phineas and Lorenzo Dow Young, Brigham Young's brothers, and Dimick Huntington escaped arrest by fleeing northeast into an unsettled area of Iowa Territory which is now Appanoose County's southwest corner. Once out of Missouri they turned east and after nearly starving,

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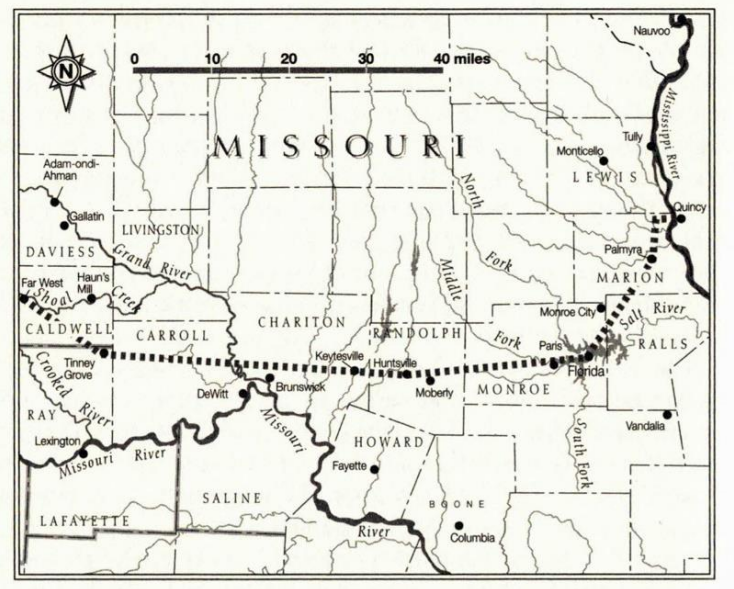
[84] Dibble was an early Mormon convert of many talents. At the time of his baptism in 1830 about the same time as John Reed he was a real estate speculator in Ohio and was among the first Saints to settle in Jackson County. There he bought and sold many properties and held nine federal land patents in Caldwell and Daviess Counties, many of which are recorded in his biography and were greatly helpful to me in studying the timing of federal land patents. He was shot in the abdomen during the first violence in Hancock County and miraculously recovered. Later he was an officer in the Far West Militia. He possessed the death masks of Hyrum and Joseph Smith for over 40 years, which he displayed throughout Utah along with a large wall-sized portable mural that he commissioned to various authors depicting the Prophet's last speech to the citizens of Nauvoo.

crossed the Mississippi River at Ft. Madison, Iowa, which is about 10 miles north of Nauvoo. They were the first Mormons into the Nauvoo area.[85]

The rest of the Missouri Saints, numbering approximately 14,000 people were allowed to remain in Caldwell County until the weather permitted travel. Most pioneer histories say little about the next three months before the general exodus in February except that the winter was cold and there was much suffering. Apparently, they had some ability to move about. Joseph Curtis wrote:

> Sometime in January 1839 I started to seek employment toward Ray County. Not being suited, I started for Liberty, Clay County. Got on the road between Far West and Liberty. I met Judge Cameron. He said to me, "God, young man, if you go about Liberty, I'll be damned if you don't get a thrashing." I continued my journey through Liberty four miles to Missouri River. Found my Uncle Jeremiah and cousins Meacham and Stephen Curtis. I joined them and we were in the employ of Judge Turnham. We agreed and cut over 100 cords of wood. Saw the prisoners Joseph, Hiram [Hyrum], and others as they were brought before the Judge to trial. S. Rigdon set at liberty.

Even though John Reed and 11 others were permitted to remain in Daviess County for a month or longer than the rest of the expelled Mormons, there is little reason to believe that they stayed in the state of Missouri longer than the main body of Saints. John wrote: "…(I) was obliged in compliance with the governor's' orders to leave the state with but one horse and a large family on my hands." The statement was dated April 21, 1839 in Quincy, which suggests that he must not have tarried long and that he took the southern route back past Tillison and Nahum's holdings in Huntsville and could have stayed with Delia and her children, or even taken them with him, contributing to his "large" family. He may also have had his adopted son Thomas Henry Green and his family with him—four children under seven. His older



Map of the Missouri Exodus in 1839

[85] Their trail eastward became known as "the Mormon Trace," which Brigham Young and the vanguard pioneer party followed in the opposite direction on their way to Council Bluffs in 1846.

children, Lee and Caroline had not left Kirtland. John and Rebecca's son John H. would have been 20, William did not come to Missouri, Joel was 14, Lydia 11, Laura nine, Levi seven, and Ira three. His daughter Clarissa and Levi Hancock might have traveled with him, but they lived in Caldwell, not Daviess county and left before him if he got out after February. The Hancocks had three children with them under five years old.

I have no information on when Nahum Benjamin and his family left Missouri. I know that his neighbor, Nahum Curtis, left for Quincy "with two poor families," one of who could have been the Benjamins. Nahum Curtis' son-in-law, Levi Jackman, wrote that his family had traveled with the Curtis family in March mostly on foot due to spring rains making wagon progress nearly impossible. Joseph Curtis wrote "Father made arrangements and in the fore part of April 1839 was on the move for Illinois."

After settling his family temporarily in Quincy, Nahum Curtis returned to Caldwell County with his wagon to help more poor families. All the Quincy-bound Mormons travelled down the Louisiana Road past Tillison Reed and Nahum Benjamin's properties in Huntsville, and then through the Allred Settlement in Florida on the Salt River, reversing their earlier route to their ill-fated Zion.

After the Mormons departed in 1839, many of their houses were torn down or hauled away for use as barns or dwellings. The first house in Kingston, built near to where the Benjamins had settled, had been dragged there from Far West, although Far West was not immediately destroyed. It remained the county seat until 1843, and the post office, which had been established in the fall of 1835, was continued for many years. As late as 1886 the temple site was still visible and the house of Joseph Smith, which had stood 200 yards from the temple site, had just been torn down and the logs used in building a stable. It was a small one and a half story building with a large stone chimney.

The fact that Nahum Benjamin's patent in Randolph was granted January 10, 1840 shows, that like Tillison, he likely paid for the land in full about two years earlier. If Delia and her family had been living at the farm near Huntsville during that time, they would have been in communication with each other. Delia and her family could have moved to Far West in 1838 once her own land was paid for, but it would have made little sense to move after July when the persecution was heating up, so I think that she probably stayed put in Randolph County. Either way, Delia and her children probably had moved from Missouri before April 30, 1839 when her daughter Fidelia Reed married Andrew Colton of Carthage, Illinois.

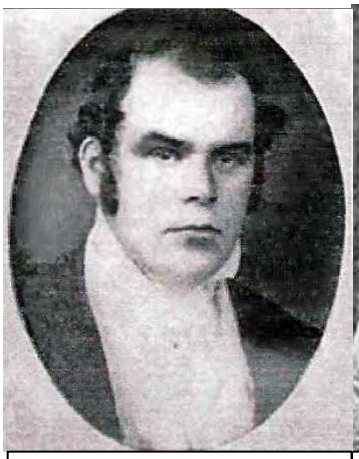
Andrew Colton had come to Carthage with his older brother Philander and family. Philander had been baptized a Mormon in Michigan in March 1838. I wonder if Nahum Curtis was a Michigan acquaintance of the Coltons—they were all from Oakland County. It makes sense that

Philander, his wife, and brother would have first gone to Missouri with the Michigan Saints, and then moved to Carthage after the exodus in February 1839. That would have allowed Fidelia Reed and Andrew to begin their romance in Missouri, which makes sense since their marriage was so soon after the exodus. That theory is supported by the fact that Philander signed an affidavit for redress from the Missouri persecutions. However, multiple Colton family histories state that Philander moved to the Nauvoo area straight from Michigan.[86]

According to Parley P. Pratt, his wife Mary Ann stayed near him in the prison in Columbus until March 17, 1839 when she went to Far West. Most of the Saints had left there by then, but she stayed there for another month with the poor people and widows and the committee who were working to move them.

Joseph Smith and the other four Mormon leaders were transferred on April 6, 1839 from Liberty Jail to go on trial for treason, murder, arson, burglary, robbery, larceny, and perjury in Gallatin, but a change of venue was granted to Boone County. During the transport by Sheriff Morgan, the prisoners escaped in the night on April 15 and were reunited with their families in Quincy April 22.[87]

Parley P. Pratt and Morris Phelps finally escaped prison in Columbia, Missouri on July 4, 1839 with the help of his brother Orson and Morris Phelps' wife. Traveling alone, the fugitive Pratt made his way to Quincy on foot with the aid of two of James Allred's sons, who had who tarried at their former home at the Allred settlement before joining the Saints in Illinois.



Parley P. Pratt

Mary Ann Frost Pratt

[86] Philander's daughter Eleanor Roseltha Colton's two birth records conflict, showing both August 26, 1839 and 1838 in Illinois. If the location of the birth in Illinois is correct, only the former birth year would support my theory. Philander lived in Carthage for a time after Andrew and Fidelia were married but was in Nauvoo by April 18, 1842.

[87] Some said that Sheriff Morgan had been given orders to let them escape to avoid possible embarrassment for Governor Lilburn Boggs, because there was little evidence, and the charges were unjust. Hyrum Smith claimed that the drunk guards helped them to escape, even saddling their horses. John Whitmer wrote that Joseph Smith had bribed the guards. Sheriff Jennings, the leader of the Hawn's Mill massacre, and the Daviess County residents were so outraged by the escape that they dragged deputy William Bowman by his hair across the town square until he died, and Sheriff Morgan was ridden through Gallatin on an iron bar until dead. In a bit of poetic justice, Sheriff Jennings was assassinated by an unidentified gunman in Macon, Missouri 23 years later. The Mormons were not suspected, but certainly would have had a motive.

CHAPTER 4 – ALL FOUR REED SIBLINGS – NAUVOO AND EXODUS

Many of the Latter-day Saints fleeing Missouri in the winter of 1839 made temporary or permanent homes in Quincy, the first non-Missouri town they encountered, receiving desperately needed hospitality from the appalled Illinoisans. They were also greeted by a late arriving group of Mormon immigrants from the eastern states, who having heard of the violence in Caldwell County had halted before crossing the Mississippi. One of these was Wandle Mace, who had rented a house in Quincy and did all he could to assist the discouraged, dusty refugees while supporting his own group. His goods had been shipped ahead to Richmond, Missouri, so he ordered them sent to Quincy, where he set up a lathe and opened his business. He was a trained wheelwright and an inventor possessing several patents including the first street sweeping machine in New York City. Elder Mace hosted many of the Missouri refugees in his house, including the apostle John Taylor and his family. Taylor was a wood turner and enjoyed the use of Mace's lathe, making enough wooden articles to support his family that winter.

In January, a relocation committee was formed by the Mormons, chaired by William Huntington, which was mainly concerned with the many sick and poor refugees. Four hundred Saints with means committed property, food, and money to help the indigent. Non-Mormons in Quincy also contributed support through their "democratic committee" and welcomed the Mormons. Governor Carlin of Illinois and Governor Lucas of the Iowa Territory extended invitations to settle.

That February Philo Dibble personally rented the Quincy ferry for a month at $9 per day to aid in the escape of the Mormon refugees. He rented 200-acre farm three miles east of Quincy to live on.

Joseph Smith had offered advice from the Liberty Jail, that Saints should "fall into places of refuge or safety that God shall open unto them between Kirtland and Far West...in the most safe and quiet places they can find." Some escaped on river boats from Richmond, Missouri down the Missouri River to St. Louis and then up the Mississippi. Many spread out among the towns north and east of Quincy and upstream along both sides of the Mississippi River. When Brigham Young arrived in Quincy, he proposed that "branches" be established to try to keep the fleeing Mormons together in communities.

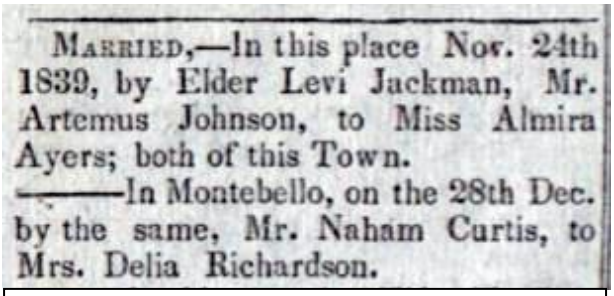
Having escaped from their captors, Joseph and Hyrum Smith arrived in Quincy in April to hold a general conference which affirmed Brigham Young's settlement policy, but Joseph Smith also bought two farms from Dr. Isaac Galland and Hugh White in Commerce, a small settlement

about 50 miles up the Illinois side of the river. At the time Commerce consisted of one stone house, three frame houses and two block houses.

On May 10, 1839 Joseph Smith moved his family into a two-room log house he bought from Galland, now called "the homestead," on the east bank of the Mississippi about a mile south of Commerce. The townsite was a wilderness of trees and bushes, the ground too sodden for a team to travel, barely walkable on foot, but once drained it was a good location for a city. Adjoining property was bought from Daniel H. Wells, David Hibbard, Hiram Kimball, and a Connecticut based real estate partnership of Horace Hotchkiss, John Gillett, and Smith Tuttle. The Prophet renamed the town Nauvoo, which he said meant "The City Beautiful."

Across the river in Lee County, Iowa many Saints moved into Fort Des Moines, a deserted set of army barracks in Montrose, bought the tiny town of Nashville, and established the town of Zarahemla. At the 1839 October Conference, stakes were created in the city of Nauvoo and in Lee County, followed soon afterward in Quincy, Lima, Columbus, and Geneva. These, of course, were not what modern Mormons would think of as stakes—most were small congregations of around 100.

I do not know where the Reed and Benjamin families lived after February 1839 until June 1, 1840 when the census showed that they were all living in Nauvoo. It is tempting to think that they may have been living together that year in Huntsville, Randolph County, Missouri on Tillison and Nahum's property, but it was only a few miles from the border of Chariton County, which had been involved in some of the mob violence, so perhaps that would have been too dangerous. If not, they were probably in Quincy or one of the other nearby towns.



MARRIED,—In this place Nov. 24th 1839, by Elder Levi Jackman, Mr. Artemus Johnson, to Miss Almira Ayers; both of this Town.

———In Montebello, on the 28th Dec. by the same, Mr. Naham Curtis, to Mrs. Delia Richardson.

Times and Seasons, Vol. 4
Nauvoo, February 1840

Whenever Delia and her six children left Missouri, it was probably in the company of John Reed's or Nahum Benjamin's family. It may have been through Nahum that she came to know his neighbor on Shoal Creek, Nahum Curtis. Delia and Nahum Curtis were married on December 18, 1839 in Montebello Township near Warsaw, Illinois, where Curtis had settled his family after living briefly in Quincy. Warsaw was in Hancock County, about 34 miles north of Quincy toward Nauvoo. Nahum Curtis' son Joseph wrote: "Went to Quincy (and) then three miles above Warsaw on the Mississippi River to a place owned by Mr. Hide. Cultivated his farm, fixed his fence, etc. Raised a good crop."

For generations, the descendants of Delia Deliverance Byam Reed and Nahum Curtis have told and retold the story of their second marriage and the blending of the two large pioneer families. Both had large, young families when their spouses Millicent Curtis and Tillison Reed died in Missouri—they had 12 unmarried children between them and 21 altogether. Subsequently there were two marriages between the stepchildren of this couple and an immense Mormon posterity.[88] Among the many versions of the history of these families, one constant "fact" (albeit without a primary source) has been that the marriage of Nahum and Delia took place in Nauvoo on October 29, 1839. Every version has both the date and the place wrong.

In addition to the newspaper announcement shown above, a relevant primary source has recently emerged, a careful, highly legible marriage registry in the Hancock county clerk's office in Carthage that contained two surprises. First, the wedding date was December 28 as in the newspaper announcement, not October 29.[89] Second, the bride's name was recorded as Delia Richardson, not Reed. Unless Nahum Curtis married two women named Delia just two months apart (and this has been known to happen, though Reed and Curtis family histories do not support it), Delia was married to another man after Tillison's death. And remarkably, the elder who performed the marriage was Levi Jackman, a son-in-law[90] of Nahum Curtis and a future husband of Delia (as we will discuss later.)

If Delia married a man named Richardson between Tillison's death in 1836 and her marriage to Nahum Curtis in 1839, the union was a short one. Although the name Richardson is relatively common, I could find no viable candidates among the Missouri Mormons of the time. However, there was a prominent family of Richardsons living close to Tillison's property in Huntsville. The patriarch of that family, William Richardson III, had brought his three adult sons to Missouri around 1823 from Tennessee and settled just across the western border of Randolph County in Chariton County, just a few miles from Huntsville. Two of his sons became Methodist preachers with large families and were well known in the region. The middle son was named Montillian, born around 1791. He was not a preacher, had a small family, and his name appears only once in the county's history book. Montillian did appear in the 1820 census for Lincoln County, Tennessee with a wife under 25 years old and a boy under 10. By 1830 he was living in Chariton County, Missouri with a wife and two boys and two girls under five. You might remember that Montillian is the person I mentioned earlier in this story as the neighbor with two land patents near Nahum Benjamin and Tillison Reed. Although Montillian's father

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[88] Calvin Reed married Mary Curtis July 11, 1841 and Sally Reed married Joseph Curtis on January 1, 1846, both marriages in Nauvoo.

[89] Nahum Curtis' first marriage, to Millicent Waite, was on October 29, 1809 which may explain the source of the erroneous month and day.

[90] Moses Curtis had married Aurelia Jackman just seven months earlier in Warsaw.

and brothers appear in the 1840 census, he does not, having seemingly disappeared, nor can I find any sign of him anywhere after that.

Here is my theory on Delia's married name of Richardson (and it does not include any speculation on the similarity of Tillison and Montillian's unusual names.) It seems plausible to me that Montillian Richardson's wife died around the time of Tillison Reed's death, and he married Delia. That would have been good for both of them, since he had at fewest four children under 15 and she needed someone to work her land claim, and it could also explain how both Tillison's and Nahum Benjamin's land came to be paid off. The marriage ended before 1839, either because Montillian died or because he left her once the trouble with the Mormons spread to Chariton and Randolph Counties. (She could have left him, but he is the one who disappeared from the record.) That theory could fit all the known facts. The trouble is, I cannot prove it—I can't find a marriage record for them. But that doesn't disprove it either. We will probably just never know.[91]

The Curtis children's descendants have written approvingly of Nahum Curtis' marriage with Delia. His first wife, Millicent, had died two years earlier, leaving their 28-year-old daughter Sophronia in charge of the six boys and a girl at home, whose ages ranged from eight to 22. Sophronia possessed the years and the experience to fit naturally into the role of mother and might understandably have had a bit of resentment when Delia took over. After the marriage, Sophronia moved out of the house and supported herself as a schoolteacher. Six years earlier when Sophronia was 22, she and her 21-year-old brother Lyman were among the volunteers from Michigan who were recruited by Hyrum Smith to join Zion's Camp, which seems remarkable for a young woman. Another young woman named Charlotte Alvord[92] had also volunteered and married young Lyman Curtis a week after the camp disbanded when she was just 18 years old. A year earlier Charlotte and Lyman had been baptized the very same day in Pontiac, Michigan so they were probably already good friends, to say the least, and may have caused a chaperoning problem for Hyrum Smith to manage on the trek to Missouri. The young couple did not return to Michigan with the rest of the volunteers, but joined the displaced Saints in Liberty, Clay County in 1834. Lyman later returned to Michigan with Orman Haughton to assist their families to join them in Missouri. They left Michigan June 7, 1836 in a small

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[91] Amazingly, I was able to find another man of that era named Montillian Richardson in Van Buren County, Iowa in the 1847 state census. Several pedigrees in Ancestry.com have confounded these two, but I'm convinced that they were different men—the man in Iowa was about 20 years younger and could not be our Montillian's son, since he came from Virginia, not Tennessee.

[92] I found myself wondering why an 18-year-old girl would volunteer for such a trip and investigated Charlotte Alvord's situation. Her mother had died when Charlotte was only 10 after which her father brought home a stepmother and four older stepsisters. Shortly before Zion's Camp the stepmother died and Charlotte's father married a third time, bringing home two more stepchildren. Maybe Charlotte was looking for an escape.

company of eight wagons. The Curtis family went first to Clay County, but eventually located in Caldwell County right next door to the Benjamins on Shoal Creek.

The third Curtis child, Moses, left home seven months before Delia and Nahum Curtis were married to get married himself. His wife was Aurelia Jackman, daughter of Levi Jackman, whose family had lived the previous winter with the Curtis family on Shoal Creek. Moses and Aurelia settled near to his father in Warsaw. Aurelia's father Levi Jackman was one of about 100 people who had moved directly to Commerce after arriving from Missouri, where he had a city lot and established himself as a carpenter. In March 1841 he was postmaster in Des Moines, Hancock County about one and a half miles north of Hamilton, which was close to the Curtis farm, but he was back in Nauvoo by March 1843.

Joseph Curtis, who was then 20 wrote:

> A branch of the Church was organized at Warsaw on the 2nd day of June (1839) at which time and place I was ordained a Priest under the hands of John E. Page and John Smith. I acted in the office of Priest in the branch during my stay. In the latter part of the summer, I became very anxious to perform a mission. The seat of gathering was at Commerce, which soon became Nauvoo, some 15 miles above where we lived. My desire was so great that I started one Sunday morning for Commerce to enquire of the Prophet, as he lived there.[93]

He was soon called on a brief local mission with his Uncle Jeremiah Curtis, a 56-year-old man with eight children at home who were living on Nahum's farm, but both men came home early after becoming discouraged. Here is part of Joseph's missionary journal:

> October 22, 1839: Myself and Uncle Jeremiah Curtis started to perform a mission. Went to Carthage, stayed at Andrew Colton's. (That was the home of Joseph's stepsister Fidelia Reed Colton, who had been married six months earlier.)
>
> On October 23, went to within 4 miles of White's Ferry on the Mississippi.
>
> 24th: Started for Hoppers Mill about 24 miles. Not so effectually making known our mission as we might.

For the next week they went from town to town, but didn't really get the hang of missionary work, "Going from place to place smuggling, as it were, the real spirit of our calling, engaging in manual labor until November 2nd." At this point his Uncle Jerry got discouraged and went home. Joseph visited a few more towns and on November 5th, he wrote that Abner Michael,

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[93] Danelle Curtis, *Journal-Joseph Curtis*, https://www.familysearch.org/tree/person/memories/KWJ8-TDS .

> …requested me to appoint a meeting. Accordingly, I accepted the offer. A meeting was appointed in the evening. As it was the first time, my feelings could hardly be described. I read a portion of scripture where it says, "Though we or an Angel of Heaven preach any other gospel unto you than we have preached, let him be accursed." Made some remarks and closed. Gave leave for remarks. One man advised me to go home and never try to preach again.

Joseph persisted until November 11th visiting several Church members on his own, and then came home discouraged.

Joseph's father Nahum Curtis' biography states that he and his sons had built a house in Nauvoo during the winter of 1840 while their families lived on the farm in Montebello, despite the distance of thirteen miles between the two houses. Besides the two married sons and Joseph, counting his new stepsons Nahum had four teenage boys and three more between 10 and 12 to help with the building. Joseph wrote about that too.

> Towards spring I went again to Commerce and commenced to build a house of hewed logs with some assistance, and by changing works, reared a house sufficient to accommodate father and family which became quite large as he married a woman who previously had several children.

Mary Curtis later wrote that Nahum and the boys also dug a well on the Nauvoo lot.

By the time of the census of June 1, 1840,[94] Nahum and Delia had moved into their new house in Commerce. Judging by the age ranges on the census form, the girls were seven-year-old Mary Sophia Reed, 14-year-old Sally Reed, and 19-year-old Mary Curtis. It is hard to sort out the boys of similar age, but three of them were not in the household. I think the older boys were probably still living at the rented farm at Montebello.

Commerce was renamed Nauvoo on June 14th. Work on the Nauvoo Temple began in the fall of 1840. According to Mary Curtis' autobiography, Nahum Curtis and his boys worked on the temple hauling lumber and helping to polish the stone. They would put one large stone on the ground, pour sand over the top, and then place another stone on top of the first. By moving the stones around they were able to polish the bottom one.[95]

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[94] That census showed a population in Hancock County of 9,945.

[95] George W. Givens, *In old Nauvoo: Everyday Life in the City of Joseph*. Deseret Book: Salt Lake City, Utah,1990, p. 44.

Joseph Curtis as a missionary

Two months after the census Joseph Curtis was out of the house for good, having been ordained an elder, and now confident enough to perform an out of state mission. Remembering his embarrassing initial experience in preaching he later wrote: "The second time I attempted to hold meeting alone, no one can know my feelings as the hour approached; fear, dread, bashfulness, causing me to weep and cry aloud to my God for help. But when the hour came, all troubles vanished, and I felt to rejoice greatly and praise the Lord." In his autobiography he wrote that he started out on July 27, 1840 with John Reed, Anson Call, Freeman Nickerson and seven others. This is corroborated by the Joseph Smith papers, which record that John Reed[96] was issued an elder's license about that time. (That would be John H. Reed the son.) John Reed Sr. was one of the men to ordain him on July 28th. Joseph Curtis headed east with Levi Nickerson, Freeman's son, preaching along the way. He wrote in his journal on November 25 that he visited "Rome, Ashtabula Co., Ohio this day, being in the house of Lee Reeds, a jovial fellow." He was referring to John Reed's son, who had not accompanied the family to Missouri in 1838. While in Kirtland the young Elder Curtis was invited to preach in the Kirtland Temple.

During Joseph's two-year mission, things were changing in Nauvoo. In October 1840 Joseph Smith sanctioned a committee to organize stakes between Nauvoo and Kirtland. These were Mt. Ephraim, Lima, Quincy, Mounty Hope, Steam Mills, and Columbus, all in Adams County. Also organized were Payson and Geneva Stakes in Morgan County and Springfield in Sangamon County. All had their origins before he was released from Liberty Jail. The first impulse had been for the Saints to scatter, not gather in Nauvoo. Silas Smith, Joseph's uncle, settled near Pittsfield, his brothers Don Carlos and Samuel Smith near Macomb, William in Plymouth and Emma and her in-laws in Quincy. All these locations developed branches or "stakes."

But by January 1841 the Church's plan changed to consolidation when the first official call to gather in Nauvoo was issued. The emphasis had turned to constructing the temple and a

[96] I'm not sure that John followed through with this mission. The LDS index of Early Mormon Missionaries has him recorded for only one mission: Joseph Smith's presidential campaign mission. https://history.churchofjesuschrist.org/chd/individual/john-h-reed-1815?lang=eng

university. A second call to gather came in May making an economic, not so much a spiritual argument.

> The First Presidency of the Church… anxious to promote the prosperity of said church, feel it their duty to call upon those Saints who reside out of this county (Hancock), to make preparations to come in without delay… should be attended to by all who feel an interest in the prosperity of this cornerstone of Zion. Here the Temple must be raised, the University built, and other edifices erected, ...which can only be done by a concentration of energy and enterprise. Let it therefore be understood that all the stakes, excepting those in this county, and in Lee County, Iowa, are discontinued, and the Saint are instructed to settle in this country as soon as circumstances will permit.

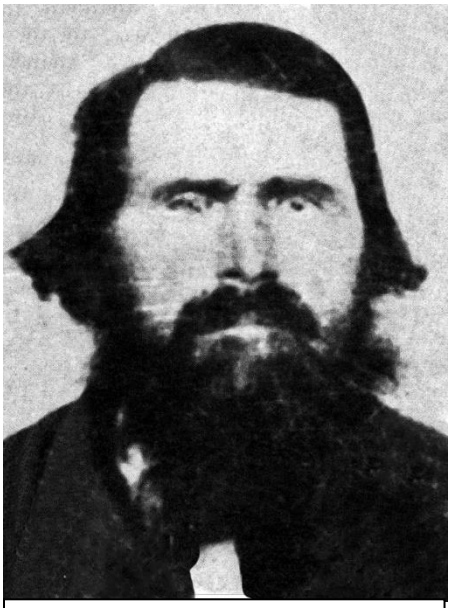
Joseph Curtis the missionary went as far as Pennsylvania by December and began his way to Massachusetts by May, spending a month on the way in New York State. Arriving in June he visited New Salem, the place of his father's birth and visited many relatives of both parents. Then he traveled north into New Hampshire to contact his stepfamily, the Reeds. On June 14, 1841 Joseph Curtis wrote, "…stayed at T.S. Reed's overnight. Then visited Nahum Reed." These were Tillison's two oldest boys. Elder Curtis hiked to the top of Mt. Monadnock, which is 40 miles south of Acworth, but just six miles from Fitzwilliam where Nahum and Timothy Sumner Reed lived. Nahum was 27 and still single. Timothy was 28 and married. He and his wife Sarah had lost their first son and Sarah was seven months pregnant. Joseph Curtis returned to New Hampshire on September 13th to T.S. Reed's and stayed overnight. "He seemed very much set in his way, Baptist in principle. Visited his workshop." T.S. was a mechanic. On the 17th he visited "Aunt Benjamin's son-in-law and stayed all night with them." He was staying with John Wilder and John's wife Susan Benjamin, who was Nahum and Judith Benjamin's oldest daughter. Evidently none of these extended family members were Mormons, and though hospitable, they were not interested in Joseph's missionary message.

During Joseph Curtis' time in New Hampshire, his younger sister Mary Curtis married his older stepbrother, Calvin Reed, in Nauvoo on July 11, 1841.

Joseph Curtis finally returned via the Cleveland and Erie Canal from Kirtland to Cincinnati and steamers to St. Louis and Nauvoo by September 27, 1842 after two years as a missionary.

There was a one-time church-sponsored census of the Nauvoo political wards in 1842. Living in the household of Nahum and Delia it showed the three youngest Curtis boys: George, Foster, and Hyrum, ages 19, 16, and 11. Only two of Delia's five unmarried children, William and Mary Sophia, ages 16 and nine, were in the household. Three others are mysteriously unaccounted for: 16-year-old Sally, 14-year-old Samuel, and 12-year-old John Byam.

My guess is that Sally, being the only girl in a house full of teenage boys once Mary Curtis and Calvin were married, went out on her own to work as a maid or schoolteacher. Her name shows up on a list of 186 women who attended the 10th Relief Society meeting on May 27th that year. Her stepsister/sister-in-law Mary was there and so were her aunts Judith Benjamin and Rebecca Reed, John's wife. Her mother Delia had been admitted by vote to Relief Society membership the previous month along with Rebecca and Polly Colton, sister-in-law to Sally's older sister Fidelia, Charlotte Curtis, wife of Lyman, and Aurelia Curtis, wife of Moses.[97]



Moses Curtis

Samuel and John Byam Reed were too young to have been out on their own unless apprenticed somewhere. Samuel was later a carpenter, so perhaps it was during this time when he learned the trade. I checked the census to see whether they were living with their uncles John Reed or Nahum Benjamin, but they were not.

Nahum's oldest boy Lyman Curtis and wife Charlotte lived close by with their two children, Julia age seven and Clarinda, an infant. They had lost two boys in Missouri. Newlyweds Moses Curtis and his wife Aurelia also lived close to Nahum in Nauvoo. They had no children at the time of the census but were expecting Moses Jr. in October. Moses served in the Nauvoo Militia and moved his family three times in their short stay in Nauvoo.[98] He was ordained a Seventy in October 1844 by Brigham Young. Along with his brothers Lyman and Joseph, Moses was involved in harvesting and hauling timber to Nauvoo from Wisconsin.[99] After the martyrdom of Hyrum and Joseph Smith, Lyman and George, members of the Nauvoo Militia, were given the important responsibility to stand guard over their bodies because there was a reward offered for the head of Joseph Smith.[100]

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[97] By the last recorded meeting of the Nauvoo Relief Society in March 1844, a total of 1,331 women had enrolled as members, most of them joining the first year. Joseph Smith attended nine Relief Society meetings in 1842 and addressed six of them. Maureen C. Ward, "'This Institution Is a Good One": The Female Relief Society of Nauvoo, 17 March 1842 to 16 March 1844," *Mormon Historical Studies* 3 [Fall 2002]: 87–203).

[98] Nauvoo, Illinois Land Records Database, Nauvoo, Illinois, file of Moses Curtis RIN #8513. He lived on block 33 Lot 1, Block 45 Lot 2, and Block 130 Lot 3.

[99] Dennis Rowley. *The Mormon Experience in the Wisconsin Pineries, 1841-1845* BYU Studies. Provo Utah 32,1992, p121.

[100] Cherrel B. Weech & Nayda Luster, *The Nahum Curtis Family History*, p43.

Nahum Curtis' oldest child Sophronia, the schoolteacher, was 30 years old and single at the time of the 1840 U.S. census, but on January 30, 1841 she married an Irish convert named Patrick Norris. In 1844 when Sophronia was pregnant with their first child, Patrick was called as a missionary to Michigan to promote Joseph Smith's candidacy for President of the United States. Tragically, he drowned crossing the Illinois River on his way home, leaving her as a single mother.

I have already written of Fidelia, the oldest of Tillison and Delia's children to come west, and her quick marriage in Carthage. While living there she had three children but the first two died as infants. The third was named Philena Jane Colton, who was born August 24, 1844, a month after the martyrdom of Joseph Smith and Hyrum. Family pedigrees indicate that Philena Jane was born in Carthage, which would have been awkward, if not dangerous, but that location is probably incorrect, for in the 1842 Nauvoo Ward and Stake census Fidelia and Andrew Colton appear with Polly and Philander Colton in an unlabeled ward, which was presumably in Nauvoo.[101]

Fidelia Reed Colson and (probably) Philena

Now I will leave Tillison and Delia's family for a time and update John Reed's family in Nauvoo.

[101] Fidelia and Andrew eventually went west with the pioneers, but moved back to Kansas before 1865, just 63 miles west of Far West, Missouri.

Clarissa Reed Hancock

Thanks to a detailed biography of Clarissa Reed Hancock,[102] we know that she and Levi were among the first Saints to leave Missouri in early February. Clarissa's son Mosiah, who was then five later wrote, "We had old Tom hitched to the cart, and Father drove the horse and carried the rifle on his shoulder. Mother followed the cart carrying my little brother Francis Marion in her arms." According to Mosiah they stopped and camped by the Mississippi River because they didn't know how they would cross it. They found some herbs growing on strings, which turned out to be wild potatoes, which proved to be good roasted or raw. The next morning the river was frozen over with ice, slick and clear, and they crossed over it to Quincy, Illinois. Due to crowding in Quincy, Clarissa insisted on finding a place of their own, even if it meant camping under a tree, so after arriving there on February 9, 1839 they went right up the Mississippi to Commerce in two days. There Levi purchased 30 acres of timberland and 40 more for farming about four miles below the town on the riverbank near the road to Carthage, where they did literally camp for a time underneath a tree, already planning for later when Levi would return to his old farm in Missouri for peach and plum trees to plant.

Rebecca and John Reed

I know less about John's arrival, but I am sure he was in Quincy by April 1839 because that is where his redress affidavit was notarized. I do not know where his family lived before moving to Nauvoo, but by the 1840 census, all four of John Reed's youngest children were living there with him and Rebecca, safely out of Missouri. Ira and Levi were five and nine; Laura and Lydia were 11 and 13. Their older brother William, who was 23 by then, had married a girl from Illinois before his parents moved to Missouri and did not accompany them, but he rejoined the family around 1840 in Nauvoo. I could not find William's family in the census but know that he came with a toddler and had three more children in Nauvoo before the Mormons were expelled.

John and Rebecca's 25-year-old son John H. lived with them in Missouri, but it is not clear that he traveled with them to Quincy, for he married Henrietta Meade on December 8, 1839 in Liberty Township, Clay County, Missouri. That seems risky for a young Mormon man at that

[102] Shirley N. Maynes, *Five Hundred Wagons Stood Still – Mormon Battalion Wives*, 1999, p.227.

time, but he either remained in Missouri during the exodus or returned later into the fiercely anti-Mormon town for her.[103] The young couple lost an infant in 1842, whose birthplace is given (although without documentation) as Clay County, so they apparently lived in Liberty for at least two years after their marriage before moving to Nauvoo by 1844.

Clarissa and Levi Hancock were living in a prime part of Nauvoo with their three children at the time of the 1840 census, three doors from Lucy Mack Smith and five from the Prophet Joseph. John Reed's adopted son, Henry Green, was also living in Nauvoo at the time a child was born there in 1842.

In the 1842 Nauvoo ward census John Reed's children are listed as Laura, Rebecca, and Jane. That is puzzling for two reasons. Laura was 13 and "Rebecca" was Lydia Rebecca, age 15, but as far as I known the Reeds did not have a child named Jane. There were a lot of wild misspellings in that census, so maybe it was 18-year-old Joel. But where were the two youngest boys, Levi and Ira, ages 11 and eight? Two more missing boys….

As for Nahum and Judith Reed Benjamin's family, besides the three older girls who had never left New England, they were also without their oldest son, Timothy. There is no record of his death—he just disappeared from history. The only two known documents of his existence are his birth record and his land patent for 40 acres in Caldwell County, which was awarded on July 28, 1838. He could have died as early as two years before that. Most Reed family pedigrees have a blank space for his time and place of death—a few say, "about 1839." That year he would have been 22 years old and unmarried.

I have not been able to figure out when the Benjamins left Missouri. I like to think they stayed the winter of 1839 with Delia's family in Randolph County and maybe longer. Whenever they arrived in Illinois, they located in Quincy or one of the other Mormon gathering places. The first proof that they were in Nauvoo was when Nahum Benjamin purchased a bond on Block 6 - Lot 3 in the town of Commerce on April 1, 1840, just days before the city was incorporated as Nauvoo, for $100 down with $200 due after five years and $200 more on April 1, 1850.

Nahum and Judith appear in the 1840 census in June, but with only two children, whose ages fit the census categories for Lorenzo, who was then 15, and Hannah Alsina, who was eight. Julina, who was 11 at the time was not counted in the Benjamin household. Curiously, she did not show up in the 1842 Nauvoo ward census either. I would have assumed that she had died, but the Nauvoo death registry clearly shows her death on October 3, 1844 of "remitting fever."

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[103] The Meade family had moved from Kirtland in 1833 to Independence, and then moved to Liberty when the Saints were expelled from Jackson County. Henrietta was living with her mother Elizabeth and older sister Sophia, who ran a successful tailoring business and never made the second move with the Saints to Caldwell County. It is a mystery to me how John H. came to know Henrietta, since I do not think his family ever lived near Liberty.

Perhaps Julina had hired out during the census years to work as a babysitter or housemaid…another missing child.

On July 18, 1842 Nahum Benjamin and Nahum Curtis joined with 21 others to sign a petition to the Nauvoo City Council to clean up offensive effluvia along the shore of Mississippi near Nauvoo. The next two years did not produce any notable records on any of the Reed families. I assume it was because that was a time of relative stability in Hancock County, a calm before the storm.

In April 1844 John H. Reed was called with many others to serve a mission promoting Joseph Smith's presidential campaign. John H. was 29 years old and had been married for over four years, as far as I know with no living children. His cousin Calvin Reed was sent to New Hampshire for the same reason. John H.'s brother-in-law Levi Jackman was called on June 5, 1844 along with a man named Enoch Burnham. On July 5 Levi and his companion heard a rumor of Joseph and Hyrum's murder at Carthage just three weeks after their departure but paid little attention. But upon returning they were greeted at home July 29 amid weeping and lamentations. Levi Jackman worked until winter on the steamer *Maid of Iowa*, formerly managed and operated by Joseph Smith, and then went to work on the construction of the temple.

In his missionary journal Joseph Curtis made no mention of going to Acworth when he visited his stepbrothers T. S. and Nahum Reed in nearby Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire in 1841. If he did not go it was a shame, for their father, Supply Reed, by then 86 years old, was living in Acworth with the family of his daughter Mahala Reed Currier and would have wanted an account of the families of his three Mormon children in Nauvoo. Within about three years there would be a fourth Mormon—his youngest child, Parker.

Although much later to join the Mormons, Parker Reed left Acworth before Tillison and Delia moved to Kirtland, Ohio. Parker was living 55 miles from Acworth in Rutland, Vermont in December 1833 when he married Tryphena Smith. He may have moved even before his mother's death in 1831 when he was already 26. His older brother Supply Jr. had taken over the family's mill and Parker would have been pursuing his own career. Rutland, now the third largest city in Vermont with a population just over 16,000 people was important even then, with a gentle topography and excellent farmland. In the early 1800s fine marble deposits were discovered there, and by 1840 while Parker was still living in the area new commercial marble operations were making Rutland one of the most important sources in the world. It is situated on Otter Creek which provided a navigation route (by canoe) between Massachusetts and Lake Champlain in the colonial era, bordered on the east by the Green Mountains.

On her mother's side, Parker's bride Tryphena was probably related to James Mead, the first white settler in the area around 1760. Her paternal grandfather John Smith came from the Colony of Connecticut and served as the first town clerk of Rutland and as the town's first member of the Vermont General Assembly. He was called Captain Smith, and so was her father Joel, who was a Revolutionary War veteran. Two of Joel's brothers served in the important battle of Bennington. Her grandfather died when Tryphena was only three years old. When Tryphena was 10 her mother died.

After their wedding, the Parker Reeds moved about 15 miles east to nearby Castleton, another important colonial town as old as Rutland, where Ethan Allen quartered his Green Mountain boys, and together with Benedict Arnold (before he turned traitor) captured the British Fort Ticonderoga, 30 miles to the west. Castleton is only five miles from the New York border and like Rutland possesses marble deposits and slate. It was primarily an agricultural community raising cattle and sheep and had grist and lumber mills on the Castleton River, which may have attracted Parker, a miller's son. The town already had a college which had established Vermont's first medical school in 1818.

In 1834 the Reeds had a daughter named Belinda Drucilla and six years later a son named Charles Wesley. In the 1840 census, they were living in Castleton with both children plus a teenage boy. Like his older brother John, Parker was a blacksmith. Perhaps the boy was an apprentice. Sometime after that the family moved to Nauvoo, Illinois, but I can only guess when and why.

They likely went to join the Mormons, or at least to join their Mormon relatives. Unfortunately, I have little information to go on. It seems lucky for them to have gone during the Missouri period. Perhaps missionaries found them in Vermont. Or perhaps they were in contact with Nahum and Judith Benjamin when they lived in Peru, Vermont about 50 miles south--if Parker left home before his mother's death in 1831, the timing for that would have been right. I assume Parker and Tryphena moved to Nauvoo before the persecutions began in early 1844, but I can find no record of them until their third child George Alonzo was born there on June 28, 1845 and died just five weeks later. Compounding the tragedy, in September 1845 the sexton's weekly report in the *Times and Seasons* announced that Triphena (sic) Reed had died of "chill fevers." To me that sounds like puerperal infection, a delayed complication of giving birth. She was 43 and left 10-year-old Belinda just as her own mother had done to her. Charles Wesley was five.

Two weeks after Tryphena's death a group of non-Mormons held a meeting at Quincy on September 22, 1845. Delegates from nine counties—which did not include Hancock—deliberated about the escalation of conflict between the Mormons and non-Mormons around

Nauvoo, adopting resolutions advocating Mormon departure from the state, which they submitted to the Quorum of the Twelve.

From mid-September to mid-October, Mormons in the towns of Lima and the Morley settlement, which lay between Nauvoo and Quincy on the Adams/Hancock County line, were attacked, and one Mormon named Edmund Durfee was shot and killed. Seventy residences in the two towns were burned and around 100 barns and outbuildings. Forty-five men were identified by the Mormons as participants, but none were ever brought to justice. About 1,000 Mormons in 180 families lived there including some of Joseph Smith's plural wives.[104]

On October 1, 1845, Brigham Young told the governor's representatives, who had been sent to keep the peace, that the Mormons planned to leave Nauvoo in the spring and settle in the west. A resolution supporting that action was adopted unanimously in General Conference on October 6th but acts of arson continued. The Quincy group held a second gathering at Carthage the first two days of October 1845, producing series of resolutions accepting the Mormon proposal and recommending that the Hancock County non-Mormons acquiesce, calling for a multi-county military organization—which never materialized—to keep peace in Hancock County until the Mormons left.

Siblings Drucilla and Charles Reed

For the next five years I have no sign of Parker and his two children. He did not travel west with the Mormon pioneers that winter, and within a year, essentially all Mormons had been chased out of Nauvoo. I suspect that Parker left Nauvoo very soon after his wife's death. By the next census in 1850 he was living in Savanna, Illinois, a safe 160 miles north of Nauvoo on the upper Mississippi, with his daughter Drucilla, by then 16 years old, and her husband William Hitchcock, who was a farmer. In their household were three young boys with the surname of Robb, whose mother was William's older sister, who had died at the age of 32 the preceding April. But 10-year-old Charles Wesley Reed was not among them.[105] Belinda later had seven children of her

[104] Jorgensen, *The Morley Settlement in Illinois 1839-1846*, The John Whitmer Historical Association Journal, vol. 32. No. 2 pp. 149-170.

[105] Charles Wesley Reed turned up in nearby Rock Island, Illinois when he married in 1864. There he lived out his life.

own, but Parker would only know two of them. He died in Savanna three years later at the age of 48.

Parker was not the only Reed to exit Nauvoo in the fall of 1845.

As I mentioned earlier, Judith and Nahum Benjamin had lost their 15-year-old daughter Julina in October 1844. Just three months later another daughter, Hannah Alsina, died of consumption at age 13, leaving them only Lorenzo. The losses seem to have been too much for Judith to bear, for she appears to have gone back to live with her three married daughters in New England, but she too died that year.[106]

All of this happened during the escalation of persecutions against the Mormons in Hancock County. Judith and Nahum's son Lorenzo Benjamin, who was 20, also fled, accompanying his Uncle Parker Reed and cousins to Savanna in Carroll County, Illinois, where he soon married a local girl named Priscilla Short. Lorenzo acquired 40 acres of military grant land just outside Savanna where he made a living as an innkeeper, and later bought 160 acres of federal land in Wisconsin.

Nahum Benjamin was left alone in Nauvoo. Without any immediate family members left, sixty-one years old, he eventually left Nauvoo in 1846 in a pioneer wagon train bound for Council Bluffs. I think there is a fair chance that he traveled with the Reed/Curtis family in the Camp of Israel, the first group to leave Nauvoo—he had been a neighbor to the Curtis Family in Caldwell County for two years and was a brother-in-law to Delia, having owned property next to her in Randolph County. However he got there, he lived the next two years at Keg Creek with Delia's family and the Curtis families, his name having been entered in the High Priests Record Book of Pottawattamie County, Iowa as member of the Upper Cag (sic) Creek Branch.

John Reed's family was split up in 1845 as well. John, of course, had been the first of the Reeds to become a Mormon, and he would die a faithful member of the Church among the very last of the Saints to leave Nauvoo, as we will soon discuss. But some of his children fled a year earlier from Nauvoo to what they felt was safer territory.

John and Rebecca's daughter Lydia had married a young British widower named Henry Steed that August.[107] The Steeds left Nauvoo in the fall along with Henry's eight-year-old son James

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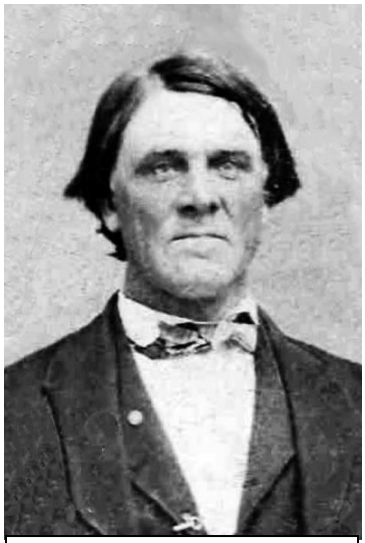
[106] Judith's death is supplied in Family Search by family genealogists as Acworth, New Hampshire in 1845 without documentation. I am still trying to contact the submitters for verification.

[107] The Steeds had been members of the United Brethren in Worcestershire, England, where the entire congregation of 300 had been converted to Mormonism in March 1840 by the great missionary Wilford Woodruff.

Henry Steed, Henry's mother Ann Steed, and Henry's two cousins, James and Thomas, to Keokuk, just across the Mississippi River from Nahum Curtis' old farm outside of Warsaw. Together they bought a claim of eighty acres of timber land with a lime kiln and stone quarry for $300 and contracted to build cellars in stores and warehouses, furnishing the materials themselves. They remained in Keokuk preparing for the pioneer trek to Utah until May 1, 1850, long after Nauvoo had been abandoned by the Saints.



Joel Goss Reed

Lydia's brother Joel Goss Reed had already left Nauvoo around 1842, having reached maturity. In June 1845 he married one of the Steed cousins, Harriet Louise. They lived in Carrollton, Greene County, Illinois, 136 miles south of Nauvoo where they raised their children. Joel also married Harriet's spinster sister Talitha, probably after Harriet's death in 1887. Family Search gives the location and date of their marriage as Salt Lake City on December 10, 1891, but I find the location unlikely--they both lived and died in Macoupin County, Illinois.

John H. Reed and Henrietta moved to Keokuk where the Steeds lived. John H. died there in October 1846, only 30 years old.

William Reed had settled at Lower Rapids in Warsaw, just across the river from Keokuk and the mouth of the Des Moines River, where he was still living December 31, 1846 when his fifth child John was born.

That fall the Saints in and around Nauvoo were gearing up for the big move. The completion of the temple was rushed to allow for hundreds of endowments before it was abandoned. Levi Jackman completed his job as carpenter in the temple around the end of October, having been hired to frame and raise the timber roof. He was working on that job as early as June 1845 when his order for a cord of wood was recorded in payment for his work.

Brigham Young recorded in his diary on December 12, 1845:

> This morning I again went up to the Temple with my wife. The morning is very fine but cold. We arrived at a quarter to 10 and found several of the brethren already arrived and preparing for the washings of others who have been notified to attend. At quarter after 10 am we again commenced the washings and anointings to the presidents of the seventies and their wives.[108]

Four Steed families led by the siblings Thomas, William, John, and Henry's mother Ann immigrated to Nauvoo with their mostly adult children in March 1841.

[108] http://www.signaturebooks.com/excerpts/nauvoo2.html

Among the seventies were Levi and Clarissa Hancock. Delia and Nahum Curtis received their endowments on December 18.

On January 1, 1846 Joseph Curtis married his stepsister Sally Reed.

Calvin Reed and his stepsister wife Mary Curtis were endowed on January 30 and so was Sophronia Curtis Norris, the widowed schoolteacher. John Reed and son his John H. were endowed on February 6 with a large group of exiting Saints including Foster Curtis and Lyman and Charlotte Curtis.

Two days earlier a man named Charles Shumway had ferried across the Mississippi, the first wagon to leave Nauvoo. On February 6, 1846 the first of the vanguard Saints followed, the Curtis families among them. Joseph Curtis wrote:

> Having volunteered as a Pioneer in the 2nd ten of the first fifty, Brother Gleason as captain, under Colonel Stephen Markham, I commenced with others to assist my brethren to cross the river. Continued until the 17th, then went and joined the main camp at Sugar Creek, continuing pioneer services under the directions of the above-named officers, enduring cold and sometimes hunger, laboring for the good of whole until the 17th of March.

A blizzard left a foot of snow in Nauvoo on February 22. Three days later Charles C. Rich famously crossed the river on ice followed by several dozen wagons by ferry the next few days to Sugar Creek, a large holding area and refugee camp where people waited for their companies to form and prepared themselves and their animals for the journey.

Four young men who had been called on a surprise mission to England, curious and perhaps disappointed not to be westbound themselves, visited the camp on March 1 to witness the departure of the first company. One of them observed:

> The weather having been cold had frozen the river over the second time this winter, so we crossed on the ice and went out six miles to the camp. We found the camp of Israel in motion, striking their tents to move on a sabbath day's journey farther. We found them in good spirits having President Brigham Young and the Twelve in their midst.[109]

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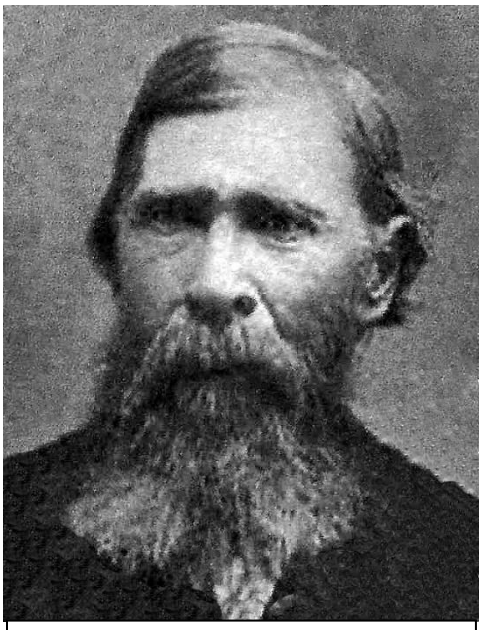
[109] Norton Jacob Autobiography https://www.familysearch.org/tree/person/memories/KNQK-QS3.



Lyman Curtis

The Curtis/Reed family left with one of the first groups, crossing Sugar Creek with 30 people. Nahum Curtis lagged behind to help some of the poor families still in the camp, leaving Delia and her three unmarried children, Mary Sophia, John Byam, and Samuel, ages 12, 15, and 17 in the hands of his sons, who also looked after Sophronia Curtis Norris with her one-year-old daughter Mary Millicent. Lyman Curtis, the oldest son, was travelling with his wife Charlotte and their three young children: Julia 10, Adeline, five, and Samuel, 15 months. Lyman's wagon had been swept downstream, drowning his horse, but an unknown onlooker gave him money to buy a new one. Lyman's recently widowed father-in-law, Levi Jackman would later join them down the trail, but had remained in Sugar Creek building and repairing wagons. Moses and Aurelia Curtis traveled with their children Moses Monroe age five, Angeline three, and their infant son Frank age five months, Calvin and Mary Curtis Reed with nine-month-old Mary Mahala (they had lost two previously), and Fidelia and Andrew Colton with their seven-month-old Philena (also having lost two). Sally Reed and Joseph Curtis were on a sort of double honeymoon with Foster Curtis and Mary Openshaw--both couples had married just before leaving Nauvoo. George and Hyrum Curtis were single, ages 22 and 16.

The family traveled in Stephen Markham's company along with Eliza R. Snow, the noted Mormon poet, who rode with the Markhams. Snow wrote: "Many of our sisters walked all day, rain or shine, and at night prepared suppers for their families with no sheltering tent: and then made their beds in and under wagons that contained their earthly all."

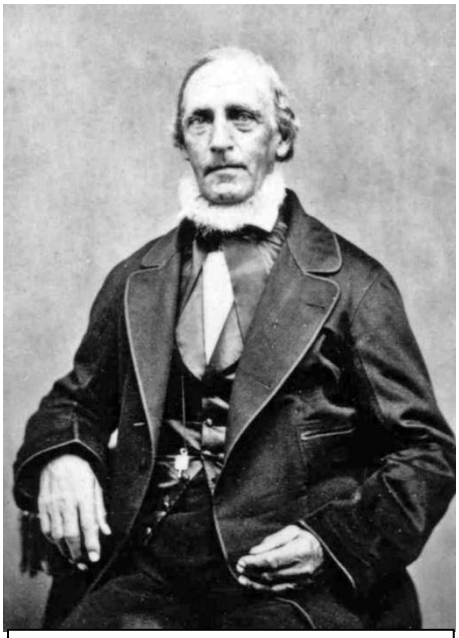
At Bonaparte they forded the Des Moines River on March 5 and reached Richardson's point, 22 miles beyond Bonaparte two days later and stayed until the 18th. They built houses and split rails. William Pitt's Nauvoo Band presented concerts for pay at the schoolhouse and courthouse. Richardson's Point is 20 miles due south of Fairfield and near Keosauqua. It was home to the vanguard party of pioneers for nearly two unexpected weeks (March 7-19, 1846), since heavy rain kept them bogged down in mud and unable to move forward. The camp had started out relatively small but grew as more wagon trains caught up to them. Eliza R. Snow, wrote about the camp: "Our town of yesterday morning has grown to a city." Well-organized, the camp boasted a working blacksmith shop, a postal tent (Willard Richards was the postmaster), and more. Brigham Young considered the camp to be "very peaceful." He stayed in the camp most of the time, often writing back to Nauvoo to help settle affairs or direct the

pioneers to quickly leave and come west. Several babies were born in the camp, including Isabella Benson (daughter of Pamela and Ezra T. Benson).

Nahum Curtis did not re-join his family at Richardson's Point as expected. He died in Nauvoo or just across the river. No grave has been found. Word of Nahum's death reached the Markham Company on March 17th. Joseph Curtis wrote:

> On hearing of the death of father, who died on the 11th (of March), I obtained permit to go home, being then at what was known as Richison's (sic) Point. Father having sent the only team he had in the company, an agreement was entered, that those having property, should be willing for it to go for the benefit the company. Ira Miles was appointed to trade; he traded one of father's ponies for a yoke of cattle and something else. The effects of the team were appraised by James Aired (Allred?) and C. C. Rich at $68.00. An order was given to that effect, that I might obtain that amount to assist in moving west….

Joseph's honeymoon was cut short, for Sally traveled on with the group. After returning to Nauvoo to check on his father's death, Joseph did not attempt to rejoin his family, having run out of money and supplies, but camped for about a month at Sugar Creek, working with Levi Jackman, who had been making and repairing wagons since the previous fall in anticipation of the great move west. Before the exodus from Nauvoo began, Levi's wife Angelina had become ill, but they managed to receive their temple endowments December 17. A short time later she worsened and died January 24. Levi wrote in his journal:



Levi Jackman

> That was a gloomy day for me. We had lived together some twenty-eight years without a jar or contention. She was true and faithful under all circumstances. She was a kind wife, a tender mother, and a neighbor whose loss was lamented. In short, she lived and died a Saint. It was a lonesome time for me. My children were mostly grown up and were gone to different places and I was left alone. After living in this way for some time I married a widow by the name of Sally Plumb. She had taken care of my wife in the last of her sickness and I knew her to be good and kind woman. I continued to work in the wagon shop until we got ready to leave the place.

The word “we” in Levi’s final sentence seems to imply that he and Sally Plumb left the wagon shop together, but it refers to Joseph Curtis, who left with Levi while Sally remained for a time longer in Nauvoo. The phrase, “after living this way for some time” suggests that Levi married Sally weeks or months after Angelina’s death, which was probably in Nauvoo or Sugar Creek because Joseph and Levi were detained there at least until spring, 1846. Sally Plumb’s two children, Merlin Jr. with his wife Cleopatra and Sally’s 15-year-old daughter Marilla, left Nauvoo in one of the groups that departed after the spring thaw and probably took Sally with them. They settled in Keg Creek, Iowa, the same place as the Curtis/Reed family.

Meanwhile, Joseph Curtis’s family left Richardson’s Point with the Camp of Israel on March 18 after a stay of 11 days. Crossing the Chariton river was difficult, requiring that they double-team their wagons to descend and ascend the muddy banks. The 500 wagons and 2,000 people at the Chariton River Camp where they stayed from March 22 to 31 were reorganized into six more manageable companies of about 50 wagons. The pioneers camped next at Locust Creek on April 6, just three miles above the Missouri border, where William Clayton composed the famous words to “Come, Come Ye Saints,” until the 15th. The military guard of the camp, of which Joseph’s younger brother George Curtis had been a member, was dismissed to go into Missouri to earn provisions, George returning in May with enough food to supply his family for three months.

From Locust Creek the Camp turned northeast toward Council Bluffs, the mid-April prairie grasses appearing, trees leafing, and measles and mumps breaking out. On April 24, the group made an extended stop by the headwaters of the Weldon and Chariton Rivers about 50 miles due south of Des Moines at a camp they called Garden Grove, where they established a settlement for those who could not continue and to serve as a way station for future groups to follow. The men were assigned to split rails, cut logs for cabins, build a bridge, dig wells, make plow handles, and herd flocks. Log cabins soon lined both ends of a common farm. Garden Grove was literally a refugee camp. Aside from the priesthood leadership almost all the initial party who stayed behind were those without the means to continue, and many were forced to trade furniture and personal items at the nearest settlements for food. Their poverty was compounded in the fall when the third wave of immigrants, the so-called poor company reached Garden Grove and could go no farther. Six hundred pioneers wintered there of which 70 died from exposure or starvation. The Garden Grove settlement continued until 1851.

Around this time Joseph Curtis and Levi Jackman were finally ready to set out from Sugar Creek, also a refugee camp. By sharing and scrounging resources, they put together wagon parts and a team and headed west with three cows and a heifer, but at Richardson’s Point they left the

trail and travelled 20 miles north to Fairfield, Iowa[110] where Joseph found work, at one point selling two feather beds and a clock for wheat and pork. As far as I can determine from their frustratingly vague journals, Joseph remained there working for farmers in harvest time and making lime until late fall before joining the extended Curtis family, who had stopped for a few months at Mt. Pisgah. Here's Levi's version:

> Many of us had to stop in Iowa to finish our outfit for the mountains... I had a pony and the woodwork of a wagon which I got at the shop as part pay for my work. After getting into Iowa, I went to work and traded my woodwork of my wagon and got an old wagon that would do to run by paying boot. I traded my pony for a yoke of oxen… I then worked for flour for the journey and started for the stopping place or Winter Quarters.

Of the "stopping place" Joseph Curtis wrote, "My folks had previously gone to the head waters of the Shariton (sic) River." This is probably the "stopping place" to which Levi had referred, almost certainly Garden Grove, which was far short of Winter Quarters, their ultimate destination. By the time Joseph and Levi Jackman finally got away from Fairfield it was fall, and the Curtis/Reed family were long gone from Garden Grove and living at Keg Creek.

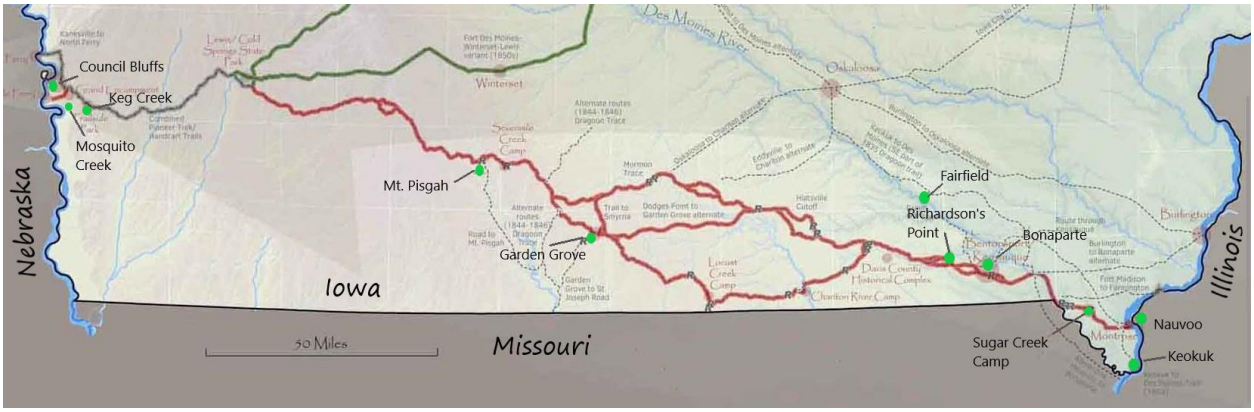
The vanguard party established Mt. Pisgah as a second stopover settlement on May 18. There too they built cabins, plowed farms and erected fences, staying until June 1. Later-leaving groups from Nauvoo were already catching up and joining them. Apparently, the Reeds and Curtises did not stay long at Garden Grove and pushed on with the larger group, but stopped and settled at Mt. Pisgah.

Back in Nauvoo the dedication of the Temple on May 1, 1846 was attended by 10,000 people including Mephibosheth Sirrine, Orson Hyde, and Wilford Woodruff, soon to be heading off to England as missionaries. Following the dedication 50 teams and 1,350 individuals left Nauvoo in a single week. On May 22, the *Bloomington Herald* noted that ferries were running day and night, crossing the Mississippi River 35 times in 24 hours at Nauvoo and similar numbers at Fort Madison, the next ferry to the north. About 7,000 to 8,000 Mormons camped on the hills and prairie opposite Nauvoo. Most of them reached Brigham Young's company by July, some stopping to set up homes along the way. The weather, the improved trail, and the waystations shortened the trip from the Camp of Israel's 14 weeks to four or five for the later groups. They

[110] Fairfield was first settled ten years earlier in 1836 and was made the county seat when Jefferson County was organized two years later. Its population was 650 in 1847.

did not always take Brigham's trail, developing many variations, some of them improvements, others to dodge spring mudholes.

The vanguard party of pioneers left Mount Pisgah on June 1 and on June 8 passed a Potawatomi Indian village near present day Lewis, bridging several rugged streams. On one of these crossings, they established Keg Creek Camp about where present Highway 6 crosses Keg Creek five miles east of Council Bluffs, their destination, which they reached the next day. Over



the next several weeks numerous other wagon trains joined them, forming the "Grand Encampment," which stretched out nine miles eastward from the main camp. With the coming of good weather, the large second wave of migration eventually expanded into the city of Kanesville and over a radius of more than 60 miles from Council Bluffs. The second wave was more than triple the size of the Camp of Israel, Brigham Young's vanguard group.

The plan had been to push onward to the Rocky Mountains that summer, but after the delay of over a month trying to get a ferry built to carry the wagons across the Missouri, the plan was abandoned for the year, also because of the decision to contribute 500 men to the Mormon Battalion for service in the Mexican War.

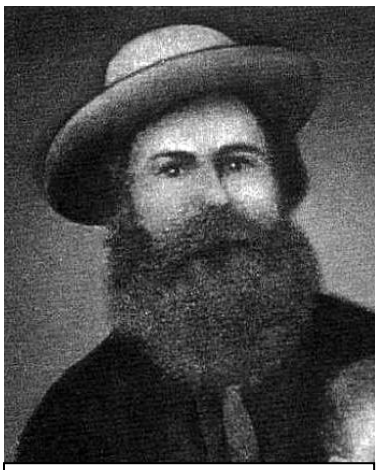
Prior to the Saints' departure from Nauvoo, Brigham Young had sent Jesse C. Little to Washington to solicit government aid for the emigration to the Rocky Mountains, which were then in Mexican Territory, and the war with Mexico was looming. Polk ordered the recruitment of a few hundred Saints, hoping "to conciliate (the Mormons), attach them to our country and prevent them from taking part against us."[111] Army Captain James Allen met with Wilford Woodruff at Mt. Pisgah on June 26 to raise a battalion of 500 Mormon men to fight against Mexico, offering cash to enlist them for a year. On July 6 Brigham Young returned from Council Bluffs to Pisgah and in a public meeting the next day recommended that the Mormons support

[111] Milo Milton Quaife, ed., *The Diary of James K. Polk during His Presidency, 1845 to 1849,* 4 vols. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1910, 1:443–50.

the request. Many men were recruited from Mt. Pisgah, and a recruitment letter was sent to Garden Grove, but it produced only a single volunteer named Edward Bunker. The Battalion mustered at Council Bluffs and left July 20-22.

Foster Curtis

Foster Curtis and Calvin Reed learned in Mt. Pisgah of the formation of the battalion and hurried to Council Bluffs to join. So did Philander Colton, Fidelia's brother-in-law, leaving her and Andrew to take care of Philander's pregnant wife Polly and five children. Foster and Philander signed up for the duration. Calvin Reed enlisted too but did not end up marching with them. His wife Mary, who would have been left alone with a 13-month-old infant Mary Mahala, later wrote:



Calvin Reed

> My husband and brother went in the Battalion. Left me at Mount Pisgah with about 25 pounds of flour and knew no person there. I was quite bashful in those days, and it made it more lonesome for me. July 8 was the day they started and left their families for the Bluffs, but for some cause unknown to us, Calvin Reed was taken sick and Br. Boly the same time. He was a young man. The Army Doctor came and gave Calvin Reed a discharge, and Br. Boly, he had him go and he died.[112]

Soon after Calvin's early discharge, according to Mary Curtis:

> Ansel Twitchell told Calvin to go to Cagerick (Keg Creek) and ask his (Twitchell's) father for a yoke of oxen and a wagon to go to Mount Pisgah for his family and he did so with success; and he got them (and) came back the first of August. Then we load up and come to Keg Creek, where the men broke up land and raised a crop of wheat and other things.[113]

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[112] "Boly" was Pvt. Samuel Boley, Company B, who died only eight days into the march. His death was recorded in Levi Hancock's diary: On the morning of 23 July, we had to perform the painful duty of burying Brother Samuel Boley, who died between the hours of twelve and one o'clock in our ranks. He was wrapped in his blanket and buried in a rough lumber coffin, which was the best we could get. During his illness he was kindly nursed by our assistant surgeon, Dr. Wm. L. McIntyre.

[113] Anciel Twitchell was one of the men who had signed up with the Mormon Battalion, leaving a three-month pregnant wife Louisa in Mount Pisgah. His father, Ephraim Twitchell had settled on a "large parcel of land" in Keg

If Mary knew no one at Mt. Pisgah, the rest of the Reed/Curtis group must have either gone ahead with the Camp of Israel toward the Bluffs or lingered behind at Garden Grove. Moses Curtis soon built a log house in Keg Creek and banked it with dirt. Some of the Curtis men went to Missouri to buy enough corn to last through the winter because they would not have time to grow their own crop.[114]

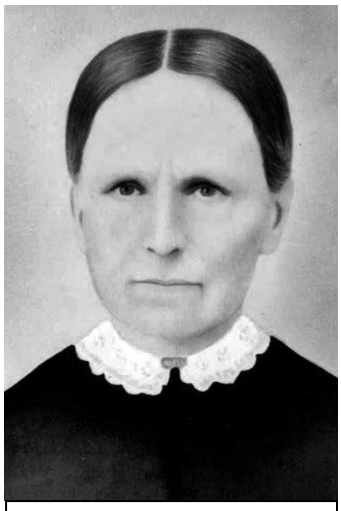
Meanwhile, Joseph Curtis wrote of his late departure from Fairfield:

> After arranging things, those of us that were left commenced our journey for the Bluffs about the middle of November and after the usual routine of journey life with a weak team, over a cold, frosty, dreary country, passing Mount Pisgah, about the 23rd, continued journeying until the 3rd of December. December 3, 1846: We put up for Winter Quarters on Cag [Keg] Creek, 25 miles from Winter Quarters.

Levi Jackman's version:

> We arrived in that section of the country after winter had set in. Some of us got old cabins to go into but…most of the company had to build huts to spend the winter in.

Levi continued, "In the company that I started with was Lyman, Moses, and Joseph Curtis and families." That statement is puzzling, for it is certain that Levi did not travel with Lyman and Moses. Perhaps Levi started out with them, but had then delayed with Nahum Curtis to "help some poor people," building wagons at Sugar Creek.



Sarah (Sally) Reed Curtis

When Levi Jackman and Joseph Curtis finally arrived in December 1846 their wives had been in Keg Creek four months. Joseph's wife Sally Reed Curtis, her widowed mother Delia, and her unmarried siblings John Byam and Mary Sophia, ages 16 and 13 were being taken care of by his brothers Moses and Lyman Curtis. Levi's wife Sally Plumb was living with her married son Merlin and her 13-year-old daughter Marrilla.

According to Delia's page in Family Search, without any supporting documentation, she and Levi Jackman were married December 18, 1846, two weeks after his arrival at Keg Creek. To be sure, Levi was an insider on plural marriage, having been present at the High Council meeting in

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Creek, where he raised corn and potatoes. He reportedly made several trips delivering supplies to Saints on the trail to Council Bluffs. Anciel and Ephraim eventually were among the first settlers of Beaver, Utah.

[114] Elizabeth Anne Cook Snow, BYU class Project, p.31.
https://fdocuments.net/document/mosescurtisbio0609.html

Nauvoo on July 12, 1843 when Joseph Smith first revealed his revelation on plural marriage, although it was not made public to the general membership of the Church until Brigham Young acknowledged it in 1852,[115] so it is possible they were wedded on that day, but highly unlikely so close to his arrival time and reunion with Sally Plumb. As we will see, Delia and Levi did get married, but likely two or three years later. The date of Levi's marriage to Sally Plumb is also not documented, but we know that it happened in Nauvoo from a letter Levi wrote two years later to his brother and sister in the east. Significantly, in the letter he did not mention a marriage to Delia Curtis, possibly evidence that it had not yet happened.[116]

Joseph Curtis wrote that he assisted in making some chairs during the winter of 1846-7 and sold them in Missouri for corn, meat, etc., which "lengthened out (their) provisions." Living close to the Missouri River made such trade possible. There were probably several trips and possibly an extended stay in Missouri that winter. Foster Curtis' wife Mary Openshaw gave birth to their first baby, Amelia in Missouri sometime between January and March 1847, probably on a trading trip with the Curtis brothers. We know the approximate date because Amelia was conceived before Foster left in the army in July 1846 but was four years old in January 1851 in the Utah census.

Throughout their time in western Iowa the Latter-day Saints actively traded with American Indians and trading settlements in northern Missouri and Iowa, exchanging household goods and small amounts of cash for foodstuffs, such as hogs, grain and vegetables, and supplies for the emigration effort. Young Mormon men also produced handcrafted items such as willow baskets and washboards for sale. Church funds allowed the community to build a much-needed water-powered gristmill… Church records for the first summer do not contain information on disease victims; however, later records indicate that, from mid-September 1846 to May 1848, disease caused the deaths of 359 residents.[117]

Joseph Curtis continued in his autobiography,

> In the spring I commenced fencing and plowing for spring crops. I was blessed so as to raise 100 bushel corn, 100 bushel turnips, 40 of potatoes, 30 buckwheat cabbage, beans and other vegetables in abundance, a load of which I took to Winter Quarters, 25 miles, as a tenth for tithing.

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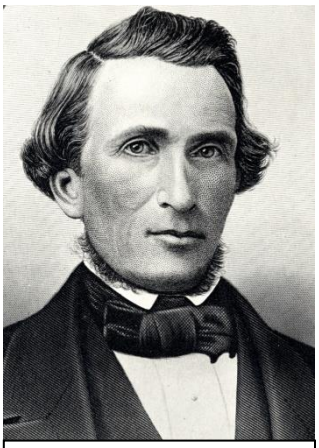
[115] It became D&C 132 in the 1870s.

[116] Bradley S. Jackman, *Saints, Stories, and Sources*: Levi Jackman, Aspen Grove Books, 2016, p.6349 Kindle version.

[117] From *History of Winter Quarters*, Wikipedia).



Bishop Riter

Keg Creek was in the Winter Quarters Ward 3 under Bishop Levi E. Riter.[118] In another source their church group was designated North Keg Creek Branch[119] which had 185 members including Calvin Reed and Moses, Joseph, and Lyman Curtis. Levi Evans Riter had been called as bishop over Mormon Battalion families, but he was not long with the Keg Creek members, moving on to the Valley in October 1847. The next year he was off to California to retrieve his supplies. In anticipation that the Saints would settle in California, he had sent his household goods to San Francisco on the ship *Brooklyn*.

On March 29, 1847 Levi Jackman left his home at Keg Creek along with his son-in-law Lyman Curtis for Winter Quarters, leaving their wives and extended families behind. They had been chosen by Brigham Young to be members of the vanguard party to the Rocky Mountains. By April 6, the company crossed the Elkhorn River. Levi kept a detailed daily journal, possibly the most quoted trail diary of the legendary trek. Levi and Lyman shared a wagon and team and were part of the initial nine men to enter the Salt Lake Valley on July 23, camping first on City Creek, exploring, even plowing, and doing a little planting before Brigham Young arrived the next day. The group began to build a fort and explore the surroundings. Then on August 26, Lyman Curtis left Jackman alone in the valley to accompany Brigham Young and two wagon companies returning to Winter Quarters to organize the next year's travel. Lyman did not return to the Valley for two more years. More settlers arrived on September 30, 1847 including Levi's son Ammi, but to Levi's disappointment, soon Ammi was also sent back to aid the Saints. Levi Jackman remained in the valley, writing of how lonely, disorganized, and hungry the remaining pioneers were. He continued his journal for the next two years, a wonderful perspective on conditions for the first settlers.[120]

The following year several children were born to the Reed, Curtis and Plumb families in Keg Creek, and Moses Curtis' five-year-old daughter died.

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[118] Elizabeth Anne Cook Snow, The Life of Moses Curtis, p. 28.

[119] Platt, Lyman D.; Title: Nauvoo, 1839-1846. 1:15; Page 128; Author: Church of Jesus Christ; Title: Pottawattamie County, Iowa, High Priests Record, 1848-1851, 4.

[120] https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/search/collection/Diaries!Biographies!OTImages!Maps!TrailGuides/mode/all/field/all/searchterm/jackman)

Delia Byam Curtis

In the late spring of 1848 Delia, having outlived three husbands and living again as a widow for two years, left Keg Creek with five of her children for the Great Basin. Traveling with her were two married children, Calvin and Sally with their Curtis spouses and small children.[121] Her daughter Fidelia and her husband Andrew Colton stayed in Keg Creek another year. Also with Delia were her three youngest children: Mary Sophia, John Byam, and Samuel Jones, ages 14, 16, and 18 and the two unmarried Curtis boys ages 24 and 17, George and Hyrum, who drove teams.

Joseph Curtis wrote: "Tuesday, I started in company with several others for the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, got 6 miles. Amasa Lyman spoke in the camp June 30."[122] The company had 526 people divided into two sections which were led by Willard Richards and Amasa Lyman. Elder Lyman's section left on July 1, two days ahead of Richards. Joseph traveled with his wife Sally and their infant Sarah Jane. Calvin and Mary Reed travelled with their two children, Mary Mahala and their infant son Heber.

I will share but one of the many events of this company's crossing.

Sometime near the beginning of the trip, Delia's youngest son, 16-year-old John Byam, became ill. According to the family stories, another family who were friends of Delia's also became ill and pulled out of the wagon train, inviting John Byam to stay with them until they were strong enough to catch up, but they never did. After several days passed, family members returned for John, but could find no sign of him nor graves to suggest any of them had died—they had simply disappeared and were never heard from again. It is said that Delia never recovered from her sorrow over it.

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[121] Of course, Delia's two oldest boys, T.S. and Nahum, had not moved west to join the Mormons and were living with their families in New Hampshire and Massachusetts. Her son William C. Reed had left the family sometime after the Nauvoo 1842 census when he was 18 and disappeared from the record until 1870, when he was living in San Bernardino, California. I have not been able to identify him in either the 1850 or 1860 U.S. census, but he could be the William C. Reed who married a young woman named Louise Crabtree on December 6, 1845 in Bonaparte, Van Buren, Iowa. William may have been attracted to California by the Mormon colonization of San Bernardino, where his older brother Calvin was living between 1852 and 1857. William did not return to Utah with Calvin but lived in San Bernardino as a single man until he died there in 1898.

[122] In Volume 9, *Heart Throbs of the West* by the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, we find that this 3rd Division was comprised of 502 whites, 24 Negroes, 169 wagons, 50 horses, 20 mules, 515 oxen, 426 cows and loose cattle, 369 sheep, 63 pigs, 5 cats, 170 chickens, 4 turkeys, 7 ducks, 5 doves and 3 goats. There were 5 companies in this division, with a Captain and a sub-Captain over each 100, each 50, and each 10 (people).

As the wagons wearily pulled into Salt Lake Valley they were met by the lonely Levi Jackman, vainly hoping to see a member of his own family among the travelers. He wrote:

> A(masa) Lyman arrived Oct. 12 with a company and with him came some of the Curtis family. My daughter Aurelia married one of them, but neither he nor any of my family came because they could not get ready this season but intend to come next year…After the arrival of the Curtises I took them into my shop until they could better situate themselves. In a few weeks, the family got them small houses and I concluded to have Mother Curtis and her young daughter (Mary Sophia) stop with me for the season as it would accommodate her with a house and me with a cook and to do my housework, and by do doing I did not have to live alone as I did last winter &c.

Still hoping to hear from his family Levi Jackman made another discouraged entry into his journal six weeks later: "Mail arrived from Winter Quarters which brought good news from the Saints in east, but to my sorrow I did not get any letter from any of my people." Though generously hospitable toward Delia and her family, Levi did not yet consider them family, more evidence that he was not married to Delia, yearning for the children of his first wife Angelina and possibly for Sallie Plumb.[123] Nonetheless, he invited the whole Reed family into his tiny house and his humble but roomier carpenter's workshop as soon as they arrived.

Joseph Curtis wrote:

> The whole company arrived at the valley of the Great Salt Lake. Myself and a few others moved to Father Jackman's[124] and commenced making adobe for a house. Continued until they froze. Soon or about this time myself and family were baptized. I bought some adobe and a small hut. Moved into our small hut. The winter was cold and tedious. I did little else than procure firewood.

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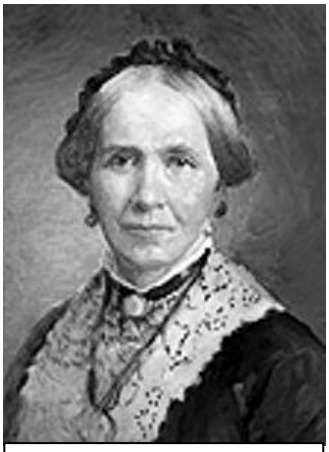
[123] Besides Aurelia, his only daughter, who had, of course, married Moses Curtis, Levi Jackman was missing four grown sons and their families. The oldest was Albert, whom Levi adopted at the age of four, the son of Angelina through a previous marriage. Albert was still in Nauvoo in November 1846 when the last of the Mormons were driven out. Instead of moving to Council Bluffs he took his wife and six young boys to Quincy, a friendlier town for Mormons and did not arrive in Utah until 1853, when he lived in Provo and then Salem. Levi Jackman's second son, William, married in Dubuque, Iowa in 1847 and never came west, dying at the age of 33 in Missouri. His third son Parmenio married Catherine Golden in February 1846 in Nauvoo during the Saints' rush to leave but stayed in Nauvoo until his wife died after bearing three children, two of whom died as infants. Parmenio came west with his five-year-old daughter in 1850 and remarried in Salt Lake City in 1851, where he had five children before being killed by Indians near San Bernardino in 1860. Ammi, who remained single until 1858, married on his mission to New York. He returned with his bride to Salt Lake City to have nine children.

[124] The reference to "Father" Jackman seems to suggest that he and Delia were already married, but remember this was not a diary, but a memoir written years later.

Joseph's brother Foster Curtis had returned to the valley with other veterans of the Mormon Battalion, probably in the summer of 1847, but possibly as late as 1849, and returned to Keg Creek where he lived with his family and came west with his brother Lyman. Foster's daughter Sarah was conceived about December 1849 in Keg Creek. Lyman and Moses Curtis left in the early summer of 1850.



Zina Young

Levi Jackman continued to write the important journal that he had kept since the first day of the crossing of the plains, but his entries became more sporadic after his arrival, still containing many gems of information about life in early Utah until suddenly ending in early 1849. There is no mention of a marriage to Delia Curtis in it, nor anywhere else in his numerous journals and autobiography. He probably married her sometime later that year after abandoning his journal, probably after February, when Zina Young[125] wrote in her diary that Brother Jackman and Sister Curtis had visited her.

Levi obtained a house from Heber C. Kimball in April 1849 in the Old Fort in Salt Lake City, which Levi had helped to build during that first summer in the valley. It had four adobe walls, but no roof or floor. He installed both and then moved into the house with Delia and Mary Sophia, who would turn 14 that September. In November Levi married Lucinda Harmon, a 27-year-old who had never been married. She may have already been known to Delia and Mary Sophia, having accompanied them across the plains the previous year. They were all living together at the time of the first Utah census about January 1851 along with an unidentified 15-year-old girl named Sarah L. from New Hampshire, all with the last name of Jackman.[126] Around that time, Mary Sophia attended finishing school. In June 1852 when she was almost 19, Mary Sophia went to Payson to be its first schoolteacher, joining her brother Calvin and her Curtis stepbrothers, where she married Alvin Crockett,[127] son of Payson's mayor.

Levi Jackman became a counselor to Bishop Shadrach Roundy in the Salt Lake 16th Ward (now the Rose Park area) for several years, and later a patriarch. Delia was still living with Levi Jackman and his wives (he also took plural wives in 1855 and 1859) in Salt Lake City in the

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[125] Zina Huntington Young was a plural wife of Joseph Smith and later, of Brigham Young. She became a noted midwife, blessing and anointing women before their deliveries. She was active in the temperance and women's suffrage movements and helped to organize the Young Ladies' Retrenchment Association and Primary Association, succeeding Eliza R. Snow as the third General Relief Society President.

[126] Lucinda bore Levi Jackman four children and they were eventually buried beside each other. Levi married Mary Vail Morse July 22, 1851, who had been a polygamous wife of Phinehas Howe Richards, evidently divorced. None of these bore him children.

[127] Alvin Crockett and Sophia are my mother's great grandparents.

somewhat unreliable Utah special census of 1856, where she is listed as Delia Jackman in the Salt Lake 15th Ward, but she was in Payson by 1860, where she was known as Delia Curtis, living with Joseph Curtis and her daughter Sally. In that year the Crockett family moved north to settle Logan, Utah taking Mary Sophia Crockett and her four young children with them. At some point Delia joined them there, living with the Crocketts until her death in 1871, still known as Delia Curtis.

About 1870 Levi Jackman and his fourth wife Lucinda moved to Salem, Utah near Payson, not far from his former wife Sally Plumb among the Curtis brothers and their families and died there in 1876.

Back in Keg Creek during the winter of 1848-49 there were two more Reed families in Keg Creek waiting their turn to emigrate: Fidelia Reed Colton with her husband Andrew and children and Fidelia's uncle, Nahum Benjamin, now a lonely widower. It would be two more years before any of the Curtis families left, but Fidelia and Andrew got out that spring and so did Nahum Benjamin on a different wagon train.

The Colton family with three children under five drove the plains from June to October. They lived first in Ogden and then Provo, where they lost a baby in 1856 and then lost twins in 1857. Before 1865 the family had left Utah permanently and were living in Doniphan, Kansas, which is only 60 miles west of Far West, Missouri.

Nahum Benjamin at the age of 64 travelled west in July 1849 with the Allen Taylor Company, arriving in October. Other members included the Isaac Allred family, Angus Cannon, and two families headed for Payson: George Washington Hancock the nephew of Levi Hancock, and the Crockett family into which Mary Sophia Reed would soon marry. Nahum settled in Bountiful, Utah. In the belated Utah census of Davis County in January 1851, Nahum appears with a 53-year-old wife identified as Margaret, born in Ireland. The only Margaret that I could find in Davis County during that period was Margaret Cowan Bryson, who I think he married. She was among the first company of 212 British Saints to immigrate to America, leaving England January 16, 1843 and arriving at Nauvoo by steamer from New Orleans April 12.

Margaret Cowan Bryson paid off the cost of her passage from England by working for Mary and Hyrum Smith. She was working there at the time of Hyrum's martyrdom and later drove Mary Fielding's wagon for her to Winter Quarters. Joseph F. Smith, her son, wrote that he drove the oxen, but he was just seven, and probably did not do it alone. For the second leg of the trip, he

would have been nine. They were part of the late group that left in October 1846 and witnessed the "miracle of the quail." [128]

Hyrum Smith's daughter Martha Ann wrote of that trip:

> We left our home just as it was—our furniture and the fruit trees hanging full of rosy-cheeked peaches. We bid goodbye to the loved home that reminded us of our father everywhere we turned. I was five years old when we started from Nauvoo. We crossed over the Mississippi in the skiff in the dusk of evening. We bid goodbye to our dear, old, feeble grandmother (Lucy Mack Smith). I can never forget the bitter tears she shed when she bid us goodbye for the last time in this life. She knew it would be the last time she would see her son's family.

Nahum Benjamin died in Bountiful in 1856. Margaret remarried and was joined by her son, who arrived in 1855 after serving several years as president of the Glasgow branch of the Church.[129]

According to family lore, when the departure time for the rest of the Curtis family finally arrived in the early summer of 1850 amidst final preparations to cross the plains, the widowed schoolteacher Sophronia tragically died of cholera on June 27 just after the group left Keg Creek. Her only child, five-year-old Millicent, died the same day. They were buried in a single grave across from Winter Quarters, their coffin reportedly fashioned from the bark of a tree, half to lie on and half placed over them.[130]

Immediately after the burial, Moses Curtis and his family along with Sally Plumb and her two married children left Winter Quarters with the wagon company of Stephen Markham, the very man who had led their company of Saints out of Nauvoo four years earlier. Lyman Curtis and family departed about the same time, but apparently independently, Lyman having already made the trek in both directions. Fidelity and Andrew Colton left about the same time with

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[128] See description on page 101-2.

[129] See excellent bios and autobiography of Samuel Bryson KWJW-9WL.

[130] This dramatic pioneer story might be apocryphal. The mortality schedule to the 1850 Utah U.S. census lists Sophronia and Mary Millicent Norris as having died of cholera in Utah County in June of the year ending June 1, 1850, which would have been 1849. If that is true, they must have arrived via wagon train the preceding fall. However, their ages in the schedule do not match exactly, being listed as 40 and six--in June 1849 they would have been 39 and four years old. If they died in Utah County that June, they were among the very first Mormon settlers there, one of 33 families comprising about 100 people called to go with John S. Higbee to fish, farm, and teach the Timpanogos Ute Indians. Sophronia is not listed on any wagon train roster nor in the history of that Utah County settlement.

their four young children in a company led by William Snow and Joseph Young. They arrived in Salt Lake City in October.[131]

The Stephen Markham company arrived in Salt Lake City on October 3, 1850 with Levi Jackman's second wife Sally Plumb.[132] Also on the train were her son John Merlin Plumb Jr. with his family and her 16-year-old daughter Marilla Bellows with her husband and infant and Aurelia Jackson Curtis, Levi's daughter with her husband Moses and children. The family says that Sally never lived with Levi Jackman after that. I suspect that she discovered that he was living with two new wives and two teenage girls and just kept on going, settling with her two children in Payson before March 1851, retaining Plumb as her last name, and eventually dying at Lake Shore, now Benjamin, Utah. One family story said that Sally Plumb drove an ox team the whole journey to Deseret at the age of 51. Two histories of Sally fail to mention Levi Jackman at all.

George Curtis, who had arrived single married Emma Whaley in Salt Lake on October 30. They were 27.

In the 1850 census Foster Curtis was living next door to his brother Lyman in Salt Lake with Amelia, age 4 and Sarah age 5/12, but no wife. Since the census was probably taken in January or February 1851, I surmise that Mary Openshaw, having barely stepped off the wagon train from Keg Creek, died in Salt Lake City in October 1850 following childbirth.

Now we will return to the story of John Reed and his family.

In the winter of 1845-6, as the Saints were hastening to complete the temple and set out for the Rocky Mountains, Levi and Clarissa Hancock were still living in the house they built after leaving Missouri, now an insecure location on the road from Nauvoo to Carthage. Preparing to leave Nauvoo, Levi traded the dry wood on his 10 acres of land for a pair of two-year-old steers, the right to farm his land, a yoke of oxen, and a covered wagon after which mobbers burned their house down and everything in it. Clarissa could not even save her feather bed. Neighbors donated 20 pounds of corn, frying pans, and kettles and the family moved across the Mississippi to Sugar Creek Camp, the jumping off place where the Saints gathered to prepare to travel and to assemble their companies. Levi Hancock, the furniture maker, commenced with George Myers, Andrew Little, and his now 12-year-old son Mosiah building and repairing

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[131] Upon arrival Stephen Markham married Mary Lucy Curtis, a daughter of "Uncle Jeremiah," as his third wife. All the rest of Mary Lucy's family had followed Lyman Wight's apostate polygamist group into Texas in May 1845 where Jeremiah Curtis died that December.

[132] She is not on the trail roster; this is from her family history.

wagons to carry the poor families west as Levi Jackman and Joseph Curtis were doing. Thus employed, they did not leave with the first large group, the Camp of Israel, which Delia and her family had joined.

Although Levi wrote much about the events of his life, I have been unable to find any reference by him to the trip from Nauvoo to Council Bluffs, but his son Mosiah, who was 12 at the time, described the trip vividly. Having delayed their departure to make wagons,

> …It was quite late when we left. Besides, we had rain every day while there. Oh! The storms! When we did get ready to start, Father would take us on one day's travel; then the next day he would go back and get Grandmother Reed and Uncle Levi and Uncle Ira. And father would bring them all up so we would all be together at night. Thus father traveled and kept the two families along by traveling the road over three times until we caught up with the Pioneers at Counsel Point (near Council Bluffs). We got there just in time for President Young, Kimball, and Richards, to come and choose father to go and spiritually preside over the Mormon Battalion.[133]

I have included this quote from Mosiah's biography of his father partly because of a serious issue that it raises, the part about Grandmother Reed and her two youngest children Levi and Ira. As I will later discuss, by another account Rebecca Reed did not leave Nauvoo until the fall of 1845, since she witnessed the "miracle of the quails" in October, five months after Levi departed Council Bluffs with the Mormon Battalion. I do not see how both stories can be reconciled and have concluded that Mosiah's must be wrong, but will include both so that you the reader can decide. Rebecca's biographer also says that Levi took her and her unmarried children to Iowa.[134]

Levi was twice the age of most of the volunteers for the Mormon Battalion and was a member of the original Council of Seventy. Some have written that he joined at Brigham Young's request to be a spiritual leader for the troops. He officially signed up as a musician in Company E, having played the fife in the Nauvoo Militia Band, and had played for the officers of the Ohio Militia as a young man. He also played the violin.

It is not entirely clear to me whether Levi took his family the whole way to Council Bluffs or dropped them off at Garden Grove and continued the rest of the way on his own. Calculating from the birth of their son Levi Jr., his conception took place around June 7, 1846, so Levi and

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[133] Source: Autobiography of Mosiah Hancock, typescript, BYU-S. Compiled by Amy E. Baird, Victoria H. Jackson, and Laura L. Wassell. https://www.familysearch.org/tree/person/memories/K2WX-H76 .

[134] Lionel Nebeker, *Rebecca Bearce,* March 22, 1987. The book was donated to the LDS Family History Library, Call Number 929.273 B38n. It was also microfilmed by the Library (surname index at 2055217 Item 28, filmed as 1697283 Item 4. I have not yet been able to obtain that book.

Clarissa were together at that time, which is compatible with either case. The best available biography of Clarissa seems ambiguous on that point.[135]

On August 10, 1846 Clarissa and the children moved to Indian Mills, Iowa, a short distance from Garden Grove, acquiring some rooms on the bank of the big Mosquito Creek, close to water, timber, and fish. That fall, Clarissa bought ten tons of hay by sewing for a 'half-breed" by the name of Alex Miller. They also harvested berries and gathered many nuts. Her children attended church meetings and school. Dishonest men cheated Clarissa out of her steers and tools. One time, she had to send Mosiah to retrieve their stolen cow.

I have not been able to discover exactly where Indian Mills is, but it is in Pottawattamie County according to the attributed birthplace of Clarissa's child Levi Jr. on February 28, 1847. Mosquito Creek is not near Garden Grove—it is close to Council Bluffs, which is also where Clarissa would have been more likely to be doing business with a "half breed." Another biographer wrote:

> When Levi left with the Mormon Battalion, Clarissa was expecting a baby and had the responsibility of her mother and Levi's mother. She found work at Indian Mills, Iowa, teaching the Indian children to sew, knit, spin, read, and write. Here she stayed until she got the promised wagon from Brigham Young and started across the plains on May 14, 1848.[136]

Historians point out that there was not a single exodus from Nauvoo in 1846, but three. The first was the arduous trek of the vanguard party known as the Camp of Israel which famously left in the middle of winter, reaching Council Bluffs after several months and constructing semipermanent communities as waystations for those to follow. Delia's family and most of the Curtis family were a part of that. Levi and Clarissa Hancock were part of the much larger spring group, many of whom made it to Council Bluffs in just a few weeks, many others settling at the waystations or spreading out into other towns of Iowa to be gathered later. John and Rebecca Reed were a part of the third group, the so-called Poor Group, who only left Nauvoo after it was invaded and taken over by the anti-Mormon forces in September.

The fall exodus began as armed mobs drove out the remaining few hundred Saints. Thomas Bullock, former clerk to Joseph Smith was in Nauvoo that fall.[137] He wrote that "wicked men…unitedly commenced burning houses, sacks of grain, and destroying fences, fields of grain and hay, and if the owners attempted a rescue, they were shot like dogs, and they had to flee

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[135] Shirley N. Maynes, *Five Hundred Wagons Stood Still – Mormon Battalion Wives*, 1999, p.227.

[136] Memories, Clarissa Reed. https://www.familysearch.org/tree/person/memories/KWJR-Y8Q

[137] "The Pioneer Trek: Nauvoo to Winter Quarters," Ensign, June 1997

naked and hungry to Nauvoo City, the Saints then being confined to one bend in the great Mississippi River; the devils from nine counties laid siege to the devoted city…." Eight hundred men with six cannons began to fire on the Saints still in Nauvoo on September 10, 1846. Two days later Emma Smith traveled by river to Fulton, Illinois, where she joined relatives and friends. Lucy Mack Smith also left and spent the winter with relatives in Knoxville, Illinois. That day Daniel H. Wells of the Mormons agreed to a truce until the 17th to allow their evacuation. September 15th four prayer circles per day were held in the temple for deliverance.

Bullock and his family were not too poor to leave but had been sick during the summer with ague and fever, too sick to move out, but during the three-day truce he saw that he had no choice. He wrote:

> On that day (September 16) a friend, George Wardell, packed up my goods on two wagons and removed them to his house to be out of danger from the cannon balls, which were flying about too thick for anyone to feel any way comfortable. He located us behind his house out of danger…for a whole week the roar of cannon and the sharp cracking of rifles kept us in awful suspense and anxiety.

When the truce ended the Greys entered the city according to Bullock with two thousand men and five hundred wagons, and "roamed around town ordering off families in two hours, and the sick were treated with cruelty" while some families were molested "while burying their dead."[138] The mob entered the temple and defaced it, tearing horns and ears from the golden oxen, but did not destroy it, thinking it valuable to them. Bullock, still suffering fever and chills was forced out of his house, deprived of his belongings and ferried across the river to Iowa. Brigham Young, needing Bullock's services, had specifically instructed the rescue party to find Bullock, who was among 600 to 700 refugees camped about a mile north of Montrose. Some sympathetic citizens of Quincy delivered provisions to the Mormon poor camped on the west bank of the Mississippi.[139] Later that day a severe storm poured down torrents of rain on the refugees. At least two rescue wagon trains from western Iowa and one from the impoverished Saints at Garden Grove returned to retrieve about half of them, the rest somehow making it on their own, but many spread out to areas in eastern Iowa to find work.

John and Rebecca Reed were among these.

Bullock wrote that "most of those are the poorest of the Saints, not a tent or wagon but sickness in it and nearly all don't know which way they shall get to the main camp." On Oct. 9, 1846, encamped just north of Montrose, Iowa, at Potter's Slough, the Saints were surprised by

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[138] Journal History, September 17, 1846.

[139] Kenneth W. Godfrey, *The Battle of Nauvoo Revisited*, John Whitmer Historical Association Journal, 2002 Nauvoo Conference, pp 133-146.

a “miracle of the quail” like the one described in Exodus 16. Large flocks of exhausted birds landed atop and under their wagons, and even in tents. “Every man, woman and child,” Bullock recorded in his journal that day, “had quails to eat for their dinner.”[140] The quail weren’t flying high but came right up to the Saints and seemed to be waiting for hands to reach out and take them.

Three days later the camp had made its way to the Des Moines River. There John Reed died of cholera, 63 years old. He was buried along the riverbank at Bonaparte, Iowa, about 30 miles from Nauvoo. Rebecca was left a widow with two young boys ages 11 and 15. Likely unbeknownst to them, their son John H. Reed died of cholera the same month at the Steed settlement in Keokuk.

The cholera that decimated the Reed family was a pandemic as well known and feared as the plague, the great influenza of 1918, and Covid-19. The world’s third cholera pandemic hit America between 1846 and 1860, right when Mormons were on the move. The disease is caused by an invisible bacterium called vibrio cholerae, which thrives in slow moving water, especially in coastal areas or along great rivers. The Mississippi River and its tributaries were hit hard. During the third epidemic around 4,500 people died of cholera in St. Louis and 3,000 in New Orleans. It is estimated that it killed 6000-12,000 people on the Mormon, California, and Oregon trails. Former President James K. Polk died of cholera in 1849.[141]

Cholera was greatly feared by the pioneers, mysterious and appearing to occur in people randomly, infecting 80% without symptoms, but causing violent diarrhea, vomiting, and cramping in the bowels and muscles of the remaining unfortunate 20% due to rapid fluid loss and loss of body salts, often resulting in death within hours. It can be successfully treated with antibiotics and intravenous fluids, but those were unheard of in the 19th century.

The disease has now been virtually eliminated in the United States by treatment of drinking water and sewage, but the causes at that time were unknown until 1854 when an epidemiologist named John Snow tracked the source in London to a single public water pump and stopped the epidemic by convincing city officials to remove its handle.

Rebecca Reed probably continued with the company, which included Thomas Bullock, reaching Mt. Pisgah, 193 miles from Nauvoo, on November 4, 1846. Rebecca and her two boys could go no farther. There she lived another 16 months before dying of cholera herself. Some family trees claim that Rebecca Bearce Reed died February 10, 1848 at Council Bluffs, but the evidence is stronger that she was buried at Mt. Pisgah. Both could not be true as they are 115 miles

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[140] "The Pioneer Trek: Nauvoo to Winter Quarters," Ensign, June 1997

[141] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cholera_outbreaks_and_pandemics

apart.[142] That is probably the time and the place where Clarissa picked up her two young brothers, Ira and Levi, and taking care of them with her own family until they were in the Salt Lake Valley.

Clarissa Hancock sent her son Mosiah from Mosquito Creek to request a spot in Brigham Young's wagon train which was to leave for the mountains that spring. Brigham sent her two teams, which pulled her and her two children from Iowa with twenty-seven bushels of cornmeal, fourteen pounds of flour, two pigs, a dog, and a cat, her little brothers Levi and Ira driving one team and Mosiah the other except when Mosiah went out hunting for food and Clarissa would drive. The rest of the family all walked because their wagons were heavily loaded. They left Indian Mills on May 14, 1848 and traveled to Winter Quarters where they joined the massive wagon train. At the Elk Horn River, they joined Zera Pulsipher's company of 50. Clarissa's five children were one to 13 and her two younger brothers, Levi and Ira were 13 and 15 years old.

Her husband, Levi Hancock, had completed his service in the Battalion the previous summer and led a group of 100 men to the valley to join up with their families. After wintering there, Levi met the wagon train that conveyed Clarissa and family at Cache Cave in Echo Canyon, and they descended Emigration Canyon together on August 3, 1848.[143]

Cache Cave
Photograph by Scott C. Esplin.

Clarissa and Levi were not reunited for long. As an important church leader, Levi kept receiving assignments that took him away from his family. On April 9, 1853 Clarissa divorced Levi and married Thomas White. There are conflicting accounts about this second marriage from several somewhat embarrassed descendants. According to a story from Clarissa's family, Levi had taken several wives and then was called to the Cotton Mission, but Clarissa refused to go. Then she had a romance with her nearest neighbor Thomas Jones White, a British convert, whose wife had stayed in England. One source says Brigham Young ordered the marriage. Accounts differ about the reason White's wife Hannah Williams had not come—some say she refused, others

[142] Find a Grave gives Thayer, Iowa as the place of death and burial, which would be Mt. Pisgah.

[143] The vanguard part of pioneers had made their first camp in what is now known as the state of Utah near a cave that they dubbed "Redden's Cave" after Jackson Redden, Joseph Smith's former bodyguard, who was the first to see it. The main body of the group camped there for a couple of days around July 13 and 14th, waiting for the ailing Brigham Young to catch up. Several of the vanguard group and many later pioneer travelers left inscriptions on its walls. It was later dubbed "Cache Cave" by William Clayton in his *Emigrants Guide* published in St Louis in 1848.

that she got delayed by sickness. But one day Hannah showed up to find Clarissa in her place, and married George Hibbard, who had travelled with her from England. There are several variations to this story.

Clarissa died “of a cold” in January 1860 at the age of 45, having put on “damp undergarments” one month after delivering her last baby. Soon after that, Thomas White married Lorena Murdock, who finished raising Clarissa’s children. She had five unmarried sons of Levi’s, ages 11-21 and three more children with White ages one to five. Lorena and not been married previously and had nine children with White.

The two youngest girls in John and Rebecca Reed’s family were living across the river in Keokuk, Iowa when their parents headed west. The younger daughter, Laura, had moved in with the Steeds and was working at the Rapids Hotel in Keokuk.

She and Thomas Steed were married on December 13, 1846 in the log house belonging to her sister Lydia and husband Henry Steed, who was Thomas’s cousin. The two couples lived together along with Henry’s son Henry Jr., the big log house divided by a curtain.

Ann Steed, Henry's mother, passed away August 9, 1847 of malaria and was buried in the Keokuk cemetery. Perhaps due to the emotions of that time, Laura’s first child, John was born prematurely and died 15 days later. The third of the Steed cousins, James, became ill with the fever and suffered all summer. The men continued to chop wood for the kiln and the lime burning. February 1849, a little girl was born to Thomas and Laura, but that child also died and Laura herself became so ill that Thomas thought he was going to lose her too. Lydia and Henry's child, Christopher Albert, died that same year in their log cabin, and Henry’s cousin James Steed, sick for two years, finally died in September 1849, leaving a widow and three children under 11.

In the spring of 1850 with six in the Keokuk cemetery, the 10 remaining Steeds plus Henrietta, the widow of John H. Reed, set out with their five remaining children for Council Bluffs along with the Richard Cook family. They reached the Missouri River on June 1 where the Steeds joined the Milo Andrus company in the first wagon train to arrive in Salt Lake that year shortly before the last of the Curtis family arrived. After a short stay in Salt Lake City all ten Steeds settled in Farmington.

I suspect that William Reed may have accompanied them from Warsaw through Iowa, but he and his family did not stop long in Council Bluffs, going straight north up the Missouri River to Manteno, Shelby, Iowa, where he lived the rest of his life. Shelby County is fairly close to Council Bluffs and was filled with Mormons. His wife became a member of the RLDS in 1856 and they parted thereafter. Both married other partners, but they ended up buried together.

Lee Reed, the oldest of John and Rebecca's natural children, never associated with the Mormons after his parents left Kirtland in 1838 except for the visit of the missionary Joseph Curtis in 1840 as noted earlier, around the time of Lee's divorce from his first wife. After the death of his second wife Adaliza in 1843, Lee married a much younger woman named Elizabeth Jerls in Lewis County, Missouri in 1849 after which they moved to DeWitt Iowa, about 120 miles north of Nauvoo, where they lived until at least 1880, Elizabeth bearing him seven children. Maybe Lee had indeed become a Mormon as a child when his parents joined, or he eventually joined the church later, since he ended up dying in Farmington, Utah in 1895 at the age of 84. His wife Elizabeth died 16 years later in Iowa. At the time of Lee's death his sister Lydia was living in Farmington as a widow, and Laura and her husband lived there too.

Henrietta Meade Reed, the widow of John H., made it to Utah in 1850 in the Edward Hunter Company. From one of her mother's biographies, we read: "Elizabeth's invalid daughter Henrietta rode in the wagon with her across the plains in 1850." Henrietta had evidently married a young man named Orrin Taylor Hulet who took her mother along. She was listed in the Hunter Company as Henriette Holt,[144] not Hulet, but in the 1850 census she was living with her mother and her sister's family under the name of Reed. Curiously, Henrietta died in 1866 in Springville, where Orrin Hulet was living and the same year in which he married Mary Matilda Holt, by whom he later three children. (Henrietta's mother and sister lived in Box Elder.)

Henry Green, the oldest of John Reed's children had a daughter named Rhoda Ann, who married at age 18 in Illinois in 1849 and never went west. His second child died in Nauvoo at the age of 10, and the third and fifth died as babies in Ohio before leaving for Zion. The next child was born June 5, 1842 in Nauvoo, where the family lived until the exodus. His wife did not make it to Utah, dying in Kanesville on February 16, 1851. Henry married Harriet Knight in April and made it to Utah that same year with four kids ages four to 16 named James Alden, Emily Melissa, Sarah Jane and Jonathan Wilbur, where he married in polygamy and lived in Centerville, then in Payson, and finally in Juab County where he died in 1887.

[144] I suspect that Henrietta had been mis-identified as Henrietta Holt out of confusion with the second wife, who did not even leave England until 1855.

EPILOGUE

It is impossible to know how much of this saga reached the awareness of Supply Reed, who was still alive during most of the drama of the third and final exodus of his Mormon progeny, let alone how he felt about it. He died March 16, 1847 in Acworth at the age of 92. He had outlived his wife and all his 13 children but four. Of the four children who joined the Mormons, only one would outlive him. Tillison had died over a decade before Supply, who must have received word of it. Possibly Judith died in his presence, having allegedly returned to New Hampshire in 1845 after losing her two youngest children in rapid succession. John preceded him in death by five months among the Mormon refugees at Bonaparte and John's wife Rebecca in Mt. Pisgah. Parker's young wife Tryphena also died before her father-in-law. Only the youngest of his Mormon children, Parker, survived Supply, dying six years later, a little more than half his father's age.

In a way, Supply had set the example for his children of pioneering, having as a young man left a five-generation family heritage in Woburn to pioneer in a wild land. Did he find his own effort worth it? Probably. He had achieved prosperity, stability, and even longevity. Only one or two of his children were living in Acworth when he died, but all except the Mormon children were within visiting distance.

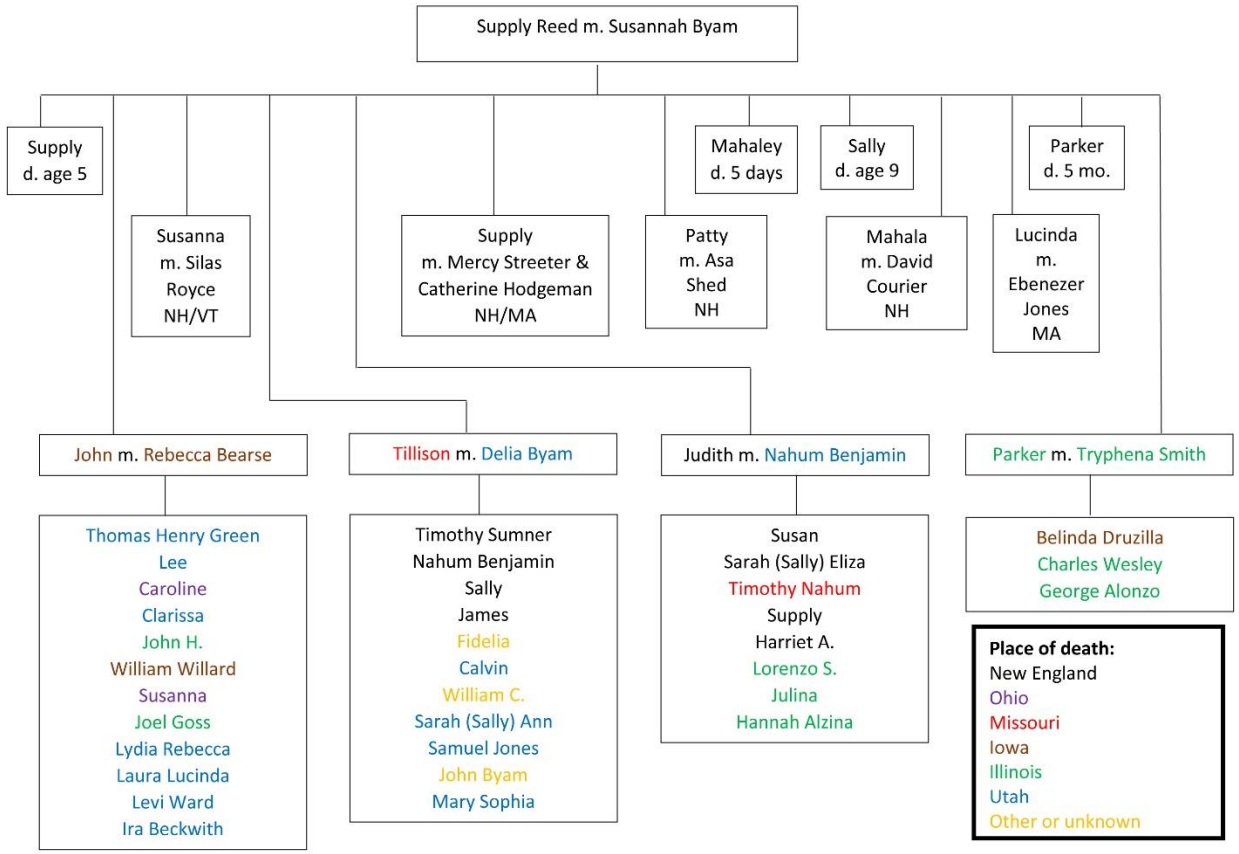
And I wonder how the four Mormon children themselves felt about their pioneering. Not a single one made it to Zion in the tops of the mountains, and only two of their spouses did, Delia Deliverance Byam, three husbands later, and Nahum Benjamin with neither wife nor children. But if the essence of life on earth is to grow from experience and challenges, there was plenty of that for all of them.

About a third of Supply's Mormon grandchildren did end up in Deseret. Seven of John Reed's 12 children made it and so did four of Tillison's 11, and they continued to pioneer for two or three more decades in Utah, California, Idaho, Arizona, and Nevada. I imagine that most of them appreciated the Reed family heritage of pioneering.

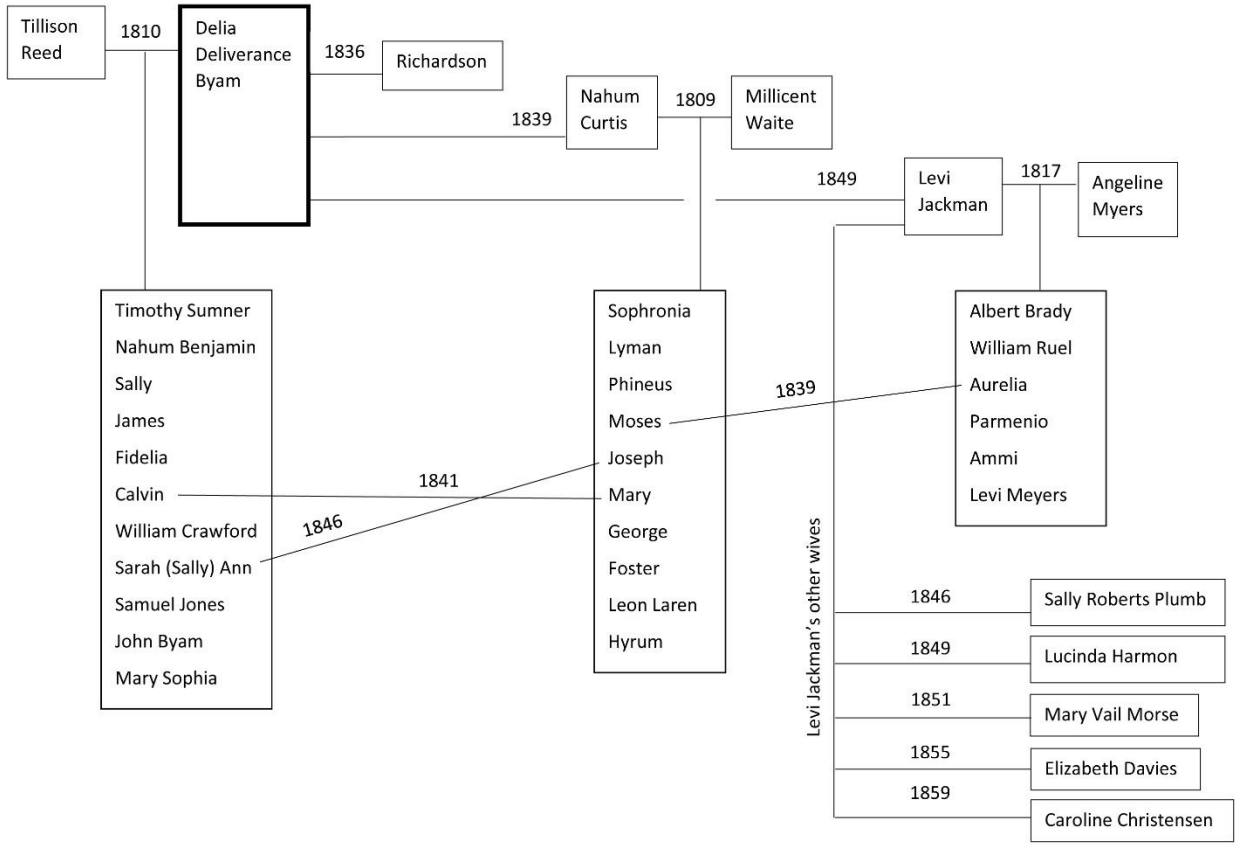
What I know is that I surely do. I am Tillison's 2nd great grandson through Mary Sophia. My very existence depended on Reed family pioneering.

FAMILY TREES

SUPPLY'S CHILDREN AND PLACE OF DEATH



DELIA'S HUSBANDS AND THEIR FAMILIES



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Rede, Thomas I, Supply's 13th ggf, born in Morpeth 1261, 4.

Reed, Abigail, daughter of William and Mabel Reed, 9, 11.

Reed, Belinda Drucilla, daughter of Parker and Tryphena, 78, 79.

Reed, Bethia, daughter of William and Mabel Reed, 11.

Reed, Calvin, son of Tillison and Delia, married Mary Curtis, 39, 46, 50, 53, 54, 67, 72, 73, 77, 82, 83, 88, 91, 92, 94, 106.

Reed, Caroline, oldest daughter of John and Rebecca, 26, 30, 54, 62, 106.

Reed, Charles Wesley, son of Parker and Tryphena, 78, 79.

Reed, Clarissa, daughter of John and Rebecca, married Levi Hancock, 26, 30, 31, 32-34, 37, 52, 62, 75, 76, 82, 97, 98, 99, 102, 103, 106.

Reed, Colonel Jonathan, a distant cousin commanded Supply Reed at Saratoga, 17.

Reed, Colonel Thomas, thought to be son of Sir Thomas Reade IV arrived at Massachusetts Bay with Winthrop in 1630, 8.

Reed, David, Supply's older brother grew up with him, 14.

Reed, Fidelia, daughter of Tillison and Delia, 39, 63, 69, 73, 74, 83, 88, 92, 95, 106.

Reed, George Alonzo, son of Parker and Tryphena, 78.

Reed, George, son of William and Mabel Reed, 11.

Reed, Israel, son of William and Mabel Reed, 11.

Reed, Jacob Whittemore, writer of *History of the Reed family in Europe and America*, 1, 3.

Reed, Joel Goss, son of John and Rebecca, 28, 30, 37, 54, 62, 76, 81, 106.

Reed, John Byam, son of Tillison and Delia, 40, 72, 73, 83, 89, 92, 106.

Reed, John H., son of John and Rebecca, 26, 54, 62, 71, 75-77, 81, 82, 101, 103, 104, 106.

Reed, John Jr., brother of Supply Reed, died as a child, 12, 14.

Reed, John, brother of Supply Reed, 21-23, 25-31, 33-40, 42, 45, 46, 49, 54, 55, 57, 59, 60-62, 66, 71, 73-76, 78, 80-82, 97, 99-101, 103-106.

Reed, John, brother of Supply Reed, married Deborah Holden, lived in Acworth, 20, 23, 25.

Reed, John, father of Supply Reed, 12-14.

Reed, Jonas, son of William Willard Reed, 37.

Reed, Judith, daughter of Supply Reed, married Nahum Benjamin, joined Mormons, 2, 22, 23, 25, 36, 39-43, 56, 72, 73, 76, 78, 80, 105, 106.

Reed, Judith, maiden name Proctor, mother of Supply Reed, 12, 14, 15.

Reed, Judith, sister of Supply Reed, died at age two, 12.

Reed, Laura, daughter of John and Rebecca, married Thomas Steed, 30, 34, 54, 62, 75, 76, 103, 104, 106.

Reed, Lee, first natural son of John and Rebecca, 26, 29, 54, 62, 71, 103, 104, 106.

Reed, Levi, child of John and Rebecca Reed, 54, 62, 75, 76, 98, 102, 106.

Reed, Lucinda, daughter of Supply and Susannah, married Ebenezer Jones and Abel Cory, 24.

Reed, Lydia, daughter of John and Rebecca, married Henry Steed, 30, 54, 62, 75, 76, 81, 103, 104, 106.

Reed, Mahala, child of Calvin and Mary Curtis Reed, 83, 88, 92.

Reed, Mahala, child of Supply and Susannah, married David Courier, 24, 77, 105.

Reed, Mahaley or Mahala, child of Supply and Susannah, died at five days, 24, 105.

Reed, Martha, sister of Supply Reed, died at age 13, 12.

Reed, Mary Sophia, daughter of Tillison and Delia, schoolteacher, 1, 44, 45, 71, 73, 84, 90, 93-96, 106.

Reed, Michael, son of William and Mabel Reed, 11.

Reed, Nahum Benjamin, son of Tillison and Delia, 39, 44, 72, 77, 106.

Reed, Parker, first son of Supply, died age five months, 21, 24.

Reed, Parker, last child of Supply and Susannah, moved to Nauvoo, 21, 24, 44, 77-80, 105, 106.

Reed, Patty, daughter of Supply and Susannah, 24.

Reed, Ralph, William and Mabel's son crossed from England at age five, 9, 11.

Reed, Rebecca, daughter of William and Mabel Reed, 11.

Reed, Sally, daughter of Supply and Susannah, died age 18, 24, 39.

Reed, Sally, daughter of Tillison and Delia, died at age nine, 39.

Reed, Samuel Jones, son of Tillison and Delia, 39, 72, 73, 83, 92, 106.

Reed, Sarah "Sally," daughter of Tillison and Delia, named after older sister, married Joseph Curtis, 39, 67, 70, 72, 73, 82, 83, 84, 89, 92, 95, 106.

Reed, Sarah, daughter of William and Mabel Reed, 11.

Reed, Supply, first child of Supply and Susannah Reed, who drowned at age seven, 21.

Reed, Supply, sixth child of Supply and Susannah Reed, ran mill, 21, 23, 106.

Reed, Supply, title character, Revolutionary War veteran, 1-4, 6, 11-25, 39, 41, 44, 78, 86, 106, 107.

Reed, Susanna, John and Rebecca Reed's daughter died of scalding, 27.

Reed, Susannah, Supply's daughter, his first child, 21, 23, 25.

Reed, Tillison, son of Supply Reed, husband of Delia Byam, died in Missouri 1836, 1, 2, 18, 21-25, 36, 39, 40, 42-49, 53, 54, 62, 63, 67-69, 73, 75, 78, 106, 107.

Reed, Timothy Sumner, son of Tillison and Delia Reed, 39, 44, 72, 105.

Reed, William Crawford, son of Tillison and Delia, 39, 81, 92, 103, 106.

Reed, William Willard, son of John and Rebecca, 26, 37, 62, 81, 103, 106.

Revere, Paul, 16.

Rich, Charles C., Mormon apostle, 45, 57, 82, 84.

Richards, Hepzibah, Mormon woman in Kirtland witnessing exodus, 53, 55.

Richards, Phinehas Howe, husband of Mary Morse, 94.

Richards, Willard, Mormon leader, 83, 92, 98.

Richardson, Montillian, neighbor of Tillison and Delia in Randolph County, 47, 67, 68.

Richardson, William III, lived by Delia near Randolph County, 67.

Rigdon, Sidney, Mormon leader, 29, 30, 31, 36, 53, 59, 61, 62.

Riter, Bishop Levi, 91.

Robinson, George W., Danite leader, 54, 59.

Rockwell, Porter, Danite leader, 54.

Roundy, Shadrack, bishop of S.L. 16th Ward, 94.

Royce, Silas, husband to Susannah Reed, Supply's daughter, 23.

Ruggles, Reverend Isaac, clashed with Lucy Mack Smith, 42.

Sanborn, Enoch S., bought John Reed's Kirtland property, 37.

Sarah, daughter of Foster Curtis, 94.

Scott, Donna, Reed family genealogist, 45, 46.

Scott, Sir Walter, author, 3.

Shaffer, Eleanor, married William Willard Reed, 37.

Shed, Asa, married Patty Reed, 24.

Short, Priscilla, married Lorenzo Benjamin, 80.

Shumway, Charles, first to cross the Mississippi in exodus from Nauvoo, 82.

Simonds, Sarah, married Timothy Reed, 44, 72.

Sirrine, Mephibosheth, Mormon missionary, 86.

Smith, Captain Joel, father of Tryphena Reed, 78.

Smith, Captain John, grandfather of Tryphena Reed, 78.

Smith, Don Carlos, brother to the prophet, 60, 71.

Smith, Emma, wife of the prophet, 32, 71, 100.

Smith, Hyrum, brother of the prophet, 31, 34, 42, 45, 46, 59, 61, 62, 64, 65, 68, 73, 74, 77, 95, 96.

Smith, Joel, father of Tryphena, Revolutionary War veteran, 78.

Smith, John, Mormon Elder ordained Joseph Curtis, 69.

Smith, Joseph F., Mormon leader, 95.

Smith, Joseph, the American prophet, 26, 30-32, 34, 36, 37, 42-46, 50-54, 56, 58, 59, 61, 63-66, 71, 73, 74, 77, 79, 90, 94, 100.

Smith, Lucy Mack, mother of the prophet, 42, 76, 96, 100.

Smith, Martha Ann, daughter of Hyrum, 96.

Smith, Samuel, brother of the prophet, 31, 48, 61, 71.

Smith, Silas, uncle to the prophet, 71.

Smith, Tryphena, married Parker Reed, died in Nauvoo, 24, 44, 77, 78, 79, 105, 106.

Smith, William, brother of Joseph Smith, 31.

Snow, Eliza R., Mormon leader, 83, 94.

Snow, Oliver, authorized to pass through Daviess County, 60.

Snow, William, wagon master, 96.

Sparks, Martha, jailed in Chelmsford for witchcraft, 15.

Spooner, Louisa, wife of Henry Green, 29.

Stanton, Daniel, authorized to pass through Daviess County, 60.

Steed, Ann, mother of Henry Steed, 81, 103.

Steed, Christopher Albert, son of Lydia and Henry, 103.

Steed, Harriet Louise, married Joel Goss Reed, 81.

Steed, Henry, married Lydia Reed, 80, 81, 103.

Steed, James Henry, son of Henry Steed, 80, 103.

Steed, James, cousin of Henry Steed, 81, 103.

Steed, Talitha, married Joel Goss Reed, 81.

Steed, Thomas, married Laura Reed, 81, 103.

Stevens, Phineas, soldier, 19.

Stout, Hosea, Mormon leader escaped through Iowa, 61.

Streeter, Mercy, wife of Supply Reed, Jr., 24.

Summers, Henry, married Mabel Reed in Woburn, 11.

Taylor, Allen, wagon master, 95.

Taylor, John, Mormon leader, 65.

Thompson, Daniel, killed at Lexington, 16.

Tilson, Ichabod, drummer who served with Supply Reed, 22.

Turnham, Judge, gentile in Liberty, 62.

Tuttle, Smith, sold Commerce property to Mormons, 66.

Twitchell, Ansel, pioneer at Keg Creek, 88.

Twitchell, Ephraim, pioneer at Keg Creek, 88.

Twitchell, Louisa, pioneer at Keg Creek, 88.

Waite, Millicent, wife of Nahum Curtis, 56, 58, 67, 68.

Wallace, William, Scot leader defeated English at Stirling, 4.

Wardell, George, friend of Thomas Bullock, 100.

Washington, General George, 14, 17, 20.

Webster, Daniel, New Hampshire politician, 39.

Wells, Daniel H., sold Commerce property to Mormons, 66.

Whaley, Emma, wife of George Curtis, 97.

White, Thomas Jones, British convert, 102.

Whitmer, Peter, Mormon leader, 29.

Whitney, Newel K., Joseph Smith lived in his store, 31, 32, 34.

Wight, Lyman, Mormon leader, 30, 34, 42, 45, 48, 53, 59, 61, 98.

Wilbur, Benjamin S., authorized to pass through Daviess County, 60.

Wilder, John B., husband of Susan Benjamin, 41, 43, 72.

William the Conqueror, first Norman King of England, 3, 4, 6.

Williams, Frederick G., Mormon leader, 31.

Williams, Hannah, wife of Thomas White, 102.

Wilson, General Robert, lawyer and member of Missouri militia, 60.

Wilson, Z., authorized to pass through Daviess County, 60.

Winslow, John, led soldiers to Fort Halifax, 14.

Wood, Joseph, early missionary to Michigan, 42, 43.

Wood, Joseph, missionary to Michigan, 42.

Wood, Sylvanus, member of Supply's company, first POW of Revolutionary War, 16.

Woodruff, Wilford, Mormon leader, 80, 86, 87.

Young, Brigham, Mormon leader, 46, 61, 65, 73, 79, 81, 83, 84, 86, 87, 90, 91, 94, 99, 100, 102.

Young, Lorenzo Dow, Mormon leader escaped through Iowa, 61.

Young, Phineas, Mormon leader escaped through Iowa, 61.

Young, Zina, prominent Mormon woman knew Delia, 94.